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The Stupidest English Poet

Thirty years ago, Tennyson's poetry was foundering in a storm of criticism, and ready to sink for ever. Then, in 1923, a desperate attempt was made by Mr Harold Nicolson and Mr H. I'A. Fausset to keep the enormous hulk afloat.¹ The method of salvage was drastic, but effective: the jettison of all superfluous cargo. First overboard was the commodity dearest to the nineteenth century — the Message. Mr Nicolson made short work of the philosophy, the theology, the intellectual acumen: the only hope was to regard Tennyson as an essentially lyrical poet — gifted by nature with a somewhat morbid sensibility, and a genius for poetical expression, but misled into didacticism by the temper of his age. Mr Fausset still further lightened the vessel, by sacrificing a great part of the poet's moral character: financial security made him soft, and self-pity, self-esteem, and class-prejudice made him incapable of honest thought.²

The main object was achieved. By a discreetly jocular use of circumlocutions — "the Laureate" or "the Bard" — and by a wealth of anecdotes at Tennyson's expense,³ the rescue-critics proved themselves up to date, dissociated themselves from the Hallam Tennysons and Stopford Brookes, and allied themselves with the most irreverent of their readers. Tennyson's poetry was saved. Since then it has been possible to enjoy it without loss of reputation — but on one important condition: it must be enjoyed as "pure", not "applied", poetry. *The Princess*, for example, should be read chiefly for the interpolated songs; *In Memoriam*, for the verbal music, the descriptions of nature, and perhaps for the "unintentional" revelations of psychological conflict.

Since Mr Nicolson and Mr Fausset professed to interpret Tennyson for their own generation only, a reinterpretation is perhaps warranted by the passage of twenty-five years. Not that Tennysonian appreciation has not steadily increased, in volume and enthusiasm, throughout that period: warm praise came from Mr F. L. Lucas in 1930, Mr Alfred Noyes in 1932, and Sir John Squire in 1947.⁴ But, if I may retain the nautical metaphor, the general tendency of these critics has been to repaint and repolish the ship,

¹ Harold Nicolson, *Tennyson* (London, 1923), and H. I'A. Fausset, *Tennyson: A Modern Portrait* (London, 1923).

² Fausset, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

³ e.g. Tennyson's retaliation upon Jowett's sherry (Nicolson), and the Royal visit to Farringford while the furniture was being moved in (Fausset).

⁴ F. L. Lucas, *Eight Victorian Poets* (Cambridge, 1930) and *Ten Victorian Poets* (Cambridge, 1940); A. Noyes, *Tennyson* (London, 1932); Sir John Squire, *Selected Poems of Tennyson* (London, 1947).

rather than lament the loss of its original cargo. Thus Mr Lucas writes:

Tennyson still remains a great poet, even though he may not have been a great thinker, nor a master of passion, nor of character, nor of long narrative. For he has other gifts, supreme gifts, of eye and ear and tongue. He is a great landscape-painter and a great musician.⁵

Mr Noyes concentrates mainly upon poetical technique.⁶ And Sir John Squire, in a wholly delightful introduction to a new selection of poems, seems largely anxious to kill the myth of Tennyson the mawkish prude, and to stress his phenomenal capacity for alcohol and tobacco.

I suspect, however, that rather too much was jettisoned in 1923; and I propose to institute a little under-water salvage, in the hope of recovering some, at least, of Tennyson's intellectual prestige. For most of this still moulders on the ocean floor. The enterprise will not be easy: Mr Nicolson's gently satirical tone, in his description of Tennyson's mental processes, has an effect almost irresistible. But if Tennyson the thinker is to be resurrected at all, it must be done at once, before the view so persuasively urged by Mr Nicolson petrifies into an unconscious popular prejudice. The reality of this danger is suggested by my own (admittedly slight) experience of University students. Among them, such petrification appears to have started already: all who read Tennyson read Mr Nicolson, and nearly all who read Mr Nicolson consider it axiomatic that Tennyson was intellectually negligible. Here, of course, Mr Auden is with the undergraduates.⁷

I propose, then, to concentrate upon the most important department of Tennyson's thought, his speculative theology; and to reconsider those elements in his reasoning which are commonly supposed to prove his intellectual defects. The initial problem is to find the best mode of procedure. For using certain arguments, Tennyson has been charged with illogicality, prejudice and stupidity; if I merely try to show, upon my own authority, that these arguments are sound, I shall prove nothing — unless, perhaps, that I also am illogical, prejudiced, and stupid. I presume, however, that his thought is usually judged by implicit reference to some such standard as this: how, in the same circumstances, would a reputable thinker deal with the same question? I shall therefore point out, wherever possible, that lines of argument which have been called contemptible in Tennyson, have been confidently used by well-known philosophers or scientists whose intelligence, honesty, and capacity for sound thinking have never been called in question.

⁵ Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶ He does indeed try to revive respect for Tennyson's thought; but he does it mainly by stressing his power of using language to express fine shades of meaning, and by urging the breadth and depth of his vision. Thus he goes far to reinstate Tennyson the sage and prophet, but is scarcely concerned with Tennyson the metaphysician.

⁷ W. H. Auden, *Tennyson: An Introduction and Selection* (London, 1946), p. x: "He had the finest ear, perhaps, of any English poet; he was also undoubtedly the stupidest; there was little about melancholia that he didn't know; there was little else that he did."

The commonest complaint against Tennyson's religious thought is that it was founded upon a compromise.

We may, perhaps, question the logical and intellectual strength of the position he adopted ... we may feel that at the end he erects a very convincing structure on the side of doubt, and a very flimsy structure on the side of faith; but we cannot deny that ... the solution which he evolved, *though to us but a compromise*, was for many of his generation a final and courageous answer to the moral uncertainties by which they were tormented.⁸

To our generation, therefore, Tennyson is neither the poet of Science nor of Religion; through trying to satisfy both camps, (as in his political verse he mixed Conservatism and Liberalism), he compromises, and so lacks poetical conviction.⁹

The implication seems to be this: by compromising between the evidence of science and the evidence of religious experience, Tennyson was doing something logically unsound, morally degraded, and poetically disastrous. But is not this a mere verbal confusion? A politician in office, well knowing what he ought to do, from considerations of personal expediency does something slightly different: we say that he has *compromised* with his conscience, and the word carries a derogatory flavour. But what about an abstract thinker? Uncertain what may be the truth, assailed on all sides by conflicting arguments, and by facts apparently conflicting, he tries to fuse his heterogeneous material into a tolerably coherent hypothesis, such as comprehends, so far as possible, all the available evidence. Again we say that he has *compromised*; but need the word imply any hint of condemnation? It should not; for such a thinker has adopted the only method of procedure worthy of a genuine philosopher, the only method compatible with intellectual and moral honesty. To assert otherwise is to imply one of two things: either that the sound thinker is never confronted with apparently conflicting evidence; or that the sound thinker plumps for one side of the question, and ignores all the evidence upon the other.¹⁰

Again, it is deemed a weakness in Tennyson's reasoning, that it often rests upon subjective feeling.

As usual with Tennyson, he is more convincing when he constructs the fabric of doubt than when he endeavours to demolish this fabric with the tools of faith. As usual, at such moments he becomes a little vague and a little angry, he falls back, at first, upon conscience, upon intuitive theology, upon the "heat of inward evidence" ... And finally he falls back upon "a hidden hope" — the hope that "God is love": —

⁸ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, p. 263. (My italics).

⁹ Fausset, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹⁰ The subsidiary suggestion that compromise in this sense is destructive of poetry, should be compared with Dr. Richards' theory that the highest kind of poetry is built out of a finely adjusted equilibrium of impulses so opposed, that in ordinary, non-poetic experience they could not be allowed simultaneous development. See I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism* (London, 1930), pp. 250-1.

To feel, altho' no tongue can prove,
That every cloud, that spreads above
And veileth love, itself is love.¹¹

We are to infer that, whenever he turns from the evidence of science to the evidence of his own feelings, he is "falling back" upon an argument of inferior validity, yielding to subjective prejudice rather than face objective fact. Common sense may support this view; but does philosophic thought? It is not usual to charge David Hume with intellectual weakness, and yet —

All probable reasoning is nothing but a species of sensation. 'Tis not solely in poetry and music, we must follow our taste and sentiment, but likewise in philosophy. When I am convinced of any principle, 'tis only an idea, which strikes more strongly upon me. When I give the preference to one set of arguments above another, I do nothing but decide from my feeling concerning the superiority of their influence.¹²

The authority of the eighteenth-century philosopher should suffice to make less self-evident the irrelevance of feeling to metaphysics; but it takes the background of twentieth-century science to show up the full oddity of this complaint against Tennyson. He is rebuked for letting subjective feeling obscure the objective facts of science; but how objective *are* the facts of science?

We may safely affirm four conclusions of a general character to which most modern writers on science would, I think, subscribe. First, scientific research in physics and chemistry is not a process whereby the mind explores a world of matter existing independently of itself ... Secondly, physics is therefore to some extent subjective ... For the subject matter of physics, like that of philosophy, is modified and moulded by the mental activity involved in its exploration. The inference is, as Mr Joseph Needham puts it, that "the world as seen by science is not the world as it really is" ... Hence the suggestion now made in many quarters that science is essentially a form of art. It is an imaginative picture constructed by the human mind of the workings of the universe, not, as it used to be thought, a photographic representation. And, inevitably, the picture will bear upon it the imprint of the personality of the artist.¹³

Can we reasonably urge that Tennyson should have rejected his own picture, and substituted the equally subjective construction of, say, Thomas Huxley?

Then there is the curious syllogism: sound thinkers come to rigid conclusions; Tennyson came to no rigid conclusions; therefore Tennyson was not a sound thinker.

Had he been a hard-headed objective thinker, had he possessed any "insight into the devouring fact", had he possessed even average *διάνοια*, he would have thought *through* his perplexities and achieved some definite and absolute position — either the grace of faith or the courage of agnosticism. But he achieved neither the one thing nor the other.¹⁴

¹¹ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7.

¹² Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, Bk. I, pt. iii, sect. 8.

¹³ C. E. M. Joad, *Guide to Modern Thought* (London, 1948), pp. 135-6.

¹⁴ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

What are the underlying assumptions? That the genuine thinker invariably reaches a hard and fast decision; that the genuine theological thinker infallibly ends up in one of two positions — absolute faith or absolute agnosticism; that the genuine thinker, having reached his definite position, never quits it, never modifies his conclusions. The first assumption would be safe enough, if subjects of thought were never obscure or complex; the second could hardly survive an instant's critical reflection; the third implies, considering the perpetual fluidity of human knowledge, that the genuine thinker suffers from arrested mental development.¹⁵ Is not this, rather, the correct view? In matters of religion, where thought is handicapped by incomplete evidence, an infinite variety of positions may reasonably be adopted; but in all matters, even in matters of the greatest lucidity, the true philosopher will regard his firmest belief as a tentative hypothesis only, to be modified immediately after formulation, should second thoughts or fresh evidence show it to be unsound. Such was the attitude professed by Dryden in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*:

... in vindication of myself, I must crave leave to say, that my whole discourse was sceptical, according to that way of reasoning which was used by Socrates, Plato, and all the Academics of old, which Tully and the best of the Ancients followed, and which is imitated by the modest inquisitions of the Royal Society.¹⁶

I quote Dryden less as a thinker in his own right, than as a representative of the Royal Society in his refusal to be dogmatic. The Society's first historian confirms that this was a fundamental element of its thought:¹⁷

To this fault of Sceptical doubting, the Royal Society may perhaps be suspected to be a little too much inclined: because they always professed, to be so backward from settling of principles, or fixing upon doctrines.¹⁸

The Royal Society is generally agreed to have inaugurated the era of modern science; is it not, then, a little paradoxical that by conforming to one of the Society's primary philosophical tenets Tennyson should incur the charge of lacking "even average *διάνοια*"?

No paradox at all, it may be said: an attitude legitimate enough in the seventeenth century implied gross obscurantism in the nineteenth. At the outset of scientific speculation, the sceptical approach was right; but by Tennyson's time, the progress of scientific research had made dogmatism in some matters incumbent upon the honest mind. The following quotation from an eminent scientist of the twentieth century will perhaps dispose of this objection:

This [the fact that modern science has given up trying to *explain* the universe, and now contents itself with trying to *describe* it] does not imply any lowering of the standards

¹⁵ — such, perhaps, as Mr Nicolson has attributed elsewhere to Swinburne.

¹⁶ *Essays*, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford, 1900), i. 124.

¹⁷ So does the Society's motto: *Nullius in Verba*.

¹⁸ L. I. Bredvold, *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden* (Michigan, 1934), n. 61.

or ideals of science; it merely implies a growing conviction that the ultimate realities are at present quite beyond the reach of science, and may be — and probably are — for ever beyond the comprehension of the human mind ... Whatever may be thought about our final ability to decode the difficult messages we have recently received about the ultimate structure of the minutest parts of matter, it seems natural that we should feel some apprehension with regard to those about the structure of the universe as a whole.¹⁹

What, finally, is to be said of the allegation that Tennyson did not reason, but rationalized his instincts; that, whether or not his methods of argument were logical, his motive for argument was not the disinterested love of truth?

He neither yielded to materialism nor triumphed through idealism, but he sentimentalized the facts of science, as he did the dogmas of religion, to suit the conclusion he desired, which was, in truth, not the result of passionate insight or logical effort, but merely an emotional preference for the faith of his fathers.²⁰

The answer to this complaint is not, I think, to deny that Tennyson's thought may ultimately have been motivated by his instincts; but to question whether any thought is possible without such instinctive motivation. Freud, for one, thought not. He held that the most "disinterested" mental activities are elaborate rationalizations of instinctive desires; that the function of reason is to justify the reasoner's beliefs.

I am sure only of one thing, that the judgements of value made by mankind are immediately determined by their desires for happiness; in other words, that their judgements are attempts to prop up their illusions with arguments.²¹

I am not concerned (nor qualified) to discuss the truth of Freudian doctrine; but I suggest that a charge which has been brought against *all* philosophers and scientists by the acknowledged founder of modern psychology, cannot confidently be used to convict any one thinker of unphilosophical reasoning. Until far more is known about the motivation of abstract thought, this line of criticism is surely best avoided.

So far, my points have been mainly negative, defending Tennyson's reasoning against the commonest forms of attack. I would now recall attention to some positive aspects of his thought. Tennyson, the intellectual ostrich, has become a conception almost ineradicable; and consequently, any resistance to the doctrines of science is regarded, in him, as a mere refusal to face facts. I think it time, however, to re-examine the actual arguments which accompanied such resistance; from which it may appear that he faced facts as well as the next man, but often interpreted them better. I shall try to show, at any rate, that he never resisted materialism but on logically defensible grounds: if he stuck his head in the sand, it was not

¹⁹ Sir James Jeans, *The Universe around Us* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 338.

²⁰ Fausset, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

²¹ Joad, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

to evade an approaching crisis, but to meditate with less distraction upon its implications.

What, then, were his arguments for a cautious attitude towards scientific doctrines? First of all he stressed what was apt to be forgotten in his period — the comparative youth of science: it followed that scientific conclusions should be humbly pronounced, and only provisionally accepted.

Half-grown as yet, a child and vain...²²

After another eighty years of discoveries, we find the same attitude expressed by Sir James Jeans:

But once it is conceded that its [the earth's] future life is to be reckoned on the astronomical time scale, no matter in what exact way, we see that astronomy is sill at the very opening of its existence. That is why its message can claim no finality — we are not describing the mature convictions of a man, so much as the first impressions of a new-born babe which is just opening its eyes.²³

Three hundred years is the age ascribed to telescopic astronomy (as compared with three hundred thousand for the age of human life); and modern science as a whole can scarcely be credited with any greater maturity.

At its present stage, then, science was not entitled to command unquestioning belief. But Tennyson went further: at no stage would science be able to tell the whole, or even the most important truth about reality.

What is she, cut from love and faith,
But some wild Pallas of the brain

Of Demons? fiery-hot to burst
All barriers in her onward race
For power. Let her know her place;
She is the second, not the first.²⁴

I hate utter unfaith, I cannot endure that men should sacrifice everything at the cold altar of what with their imperfect knowledge they choose to call truth and reason.²⁵

Mere intellectual life — however advanced or however perfected — will not fill the void.²⁶

Now this was not timidity, an attempt to evade the facts: it was a positive conviction that the facts of the scientists were in their very nature incomplete. Science, he held, was incapable of discovering reality, without the help of faith and love — that is, without the intuitive, instinctive

²² *In Memoriam*, sect. cxiv.

²³ Jeans, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁴ *In Memoriam*, sect. cxiv.

²⁵ *Enoch Arden and In Memoriam*, ed. Hallam, Lord Tennyson (London, 1909), p. 208.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 209.

faculties of the human mind. A comparable theory is the basis of Bergson's philosophy. For him, the intellect is a faculty evolved for purely practical purposes, which distorts reality in its efforts to cope with it. The truth about things is to be attained, not by the intellect, but by the intuitive, instinctive faculty. Nor is Bergson's trust in intuition an isolated phenomenon in modern thought. I quoted above, from Dr. Joad, two out of four general conclusions to be deduced from recent research in physics; here is the fourth:

...there are avenues for the exploration of the universe other than that of science, notably through the aesthetic, the moral, and the religious consciousnesses. These avenues are not only as valid as the approach through science; they may be even more important, since while, as we have seen, science does not give us information about the reality of things, or rather about the reality behind them, art and religion may do so. Some scientists indeed, for example Schroedinger, seem to regard science as a comparatively unimportant means of access to reality. "In the new universe, it appears, our religious insight is granted as great validity as our scientific insight. Indeed, in the opinion of the greatest of them all [Einstein] our religious insight is the source and guide of all our scientific insight."²⁷

Tennyson gave three other reasons for adopting a critical attitude towards the dogmatism of contemporary science: the inferential nature of all physical "knowledge", the hypothetical nature of scientific "law", and the essentially mysterious nature of current materialistic theory.

Critics of his thought often seem to assume that we enjoy, through the senses, direct knowledge of the external world. Thus, when Tennyson reasons that "Thou canst not prove the world thou movest in", Mr Nicolson appears to regard it as a mere product of hysterical desperation:

We find him throughout his life endeavouring in anguish to rid himself of this obsession of Space and Time, of this crushing immensity, of this dread of eventual annihilation. We find him at times endeavouring to deny the evidence of his own senses, endeavouring to convince himself that what he knew and saw was no more than a "subjective condition of our sensibility."²⁸

There is no need to dwell upon the long line of reputable philosophers who, without any promptings of anguish, panic, or obsession, had previously questioned the directness and reliability of our physical knowledge. It is enough to say that Tennyson had ample precedent for arguing, with perfect coolness, that physical science is based upon sense-perceptions; that perceptions arise from sensations only by a process of inference; that human inferences are not infallible; and so, that the doctrines of physical science should not be credited with an oracular authority.

Next, the nature of scientific law: most of Tennyson's contemporaries thought themselves faced with a choice between logical reason and illogical faith; science had a monopoly of the first, and religion of the second. But

²⁷ Joad, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

²⁸ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

Tennyson pointed out that the very laws which underlie scientific method are incapable of logical justification.

He asserted that "Nothing worthy proving can be proven" and that even as to the great laws which are the basis of Science, "we have but faith, we cannot know."²⁹

Modern thought has tended to confirm his view that logic is not the essence of scientific method. "*Facts*," says Lord Russell, "have to be discovered by observation, not by reasoning; when we successfully infer the future, we do so by means of principles which are not logically necessary, but are suggested by empirical data."³⁰ Victorian thought, however, assumed the contrary. John Stuart Mill, perhaps the most acute reasoner of his age, believed that by formulating a rationale of induction he could give a logical justification of our faith in science; and the result, according to Professor A. J. Ayer, was an argument of obvious circularity.³¹ Tennyson did not, of course, suggest that because the propositions of science were not logically necessary, they were therefore to be disbelieved; he was only concerned to demolish one pretext for the dogmatic assurance of the scientists — the notion that their assertions, unlike those of the theologians, were ultimately based on logic.

But the confidence of nineteenth-century materialists had another foundation also: the belief that the simplest and most intelligible way of explaining the universe was to explain it in terms of matter.

Today the foundation for this whole way of thinking, the hard, obvious, simple lumps of matter, has disappeared. Modern matter is something infinitely attenuated and elusive; it is a hump in space-time, a 'mush' of electricity, a wave of probability undulating into nothingness; frequently it turns out not to be matter at all, but a projection of the consciousness of the perceiver. So mysterious, indeed, has it become, that the modern tendency to explain things in terms of mind is little more than a preference for explanation in terms of the less unknown rather than of the more.³²

On this point also, Tennyson's thought was ahead of his time: while materialism was generally considered a hypothesis of irreproachable lucidity, he anticipated the twentieth-century view in regarding matter as more, not less, mysterious than mind:

... The Abyss of all Abysses, beneath, within
The blue of sky and sea, the green of earth,
And in the million-millionth of a grain
Which cleft and cleft again for evermore,
And ever vanishing, never vanishes,
To me, my son, more mystic than myself...³³

²⁹ *Enoch Arden and In Memoriam*, ed. cited, p. 211.

³⁰ Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (London, 1946), p. 601.

³¹ A. J. Ayer, 'Science and Philosophy', *The Listener*, xxxix, No 1002 (April 8, 1948), 578.

³² Joad, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³³ "The Ancient Sage", 40-5.

Two important elements in Tennyson's theological speculation remain to be examined; elements normally mentioned with ridicule, or at best with patronizing pity. First is the suggestion that human need for a God is presumptive evidence for a God's existence; second, the defence of metaphysical theory by practical expediency.

He therefore evolved the formula, the pathetically inadequate formula, that God must exist because the human heart felt an instinctive need of His existence.³⁴

In Memoriam consoled a wide audience which had begun secretly to fear that God was to be outlawed, not by laying the ghosts of their fear, but by insisting that man would not and could not endure the loss of his god.³⁵

As a basic principle, the formula would certainly be inadequate; but it is not propounded as such. It is offered merely as a plausible inference from a widely credited proposition, of which Tennyson felt himself to have immediate intuitive knowledge: that the universe is an organic whole.

Throughout his life he had a constant feeling of spiritual harmony existing between ourselves and the outward visible universe...³⁶

From this conception of an organic unity in the structure of the universe, it was surely a legitimate deduction that any fundamental tendency of the human mind (e.g. the need for a God) indicated some corresponding element in the construction of the universe as a whole. Bergson may be cited again, as at least one philosopher of note who did not think it absurd to see in the nature of human consciousness the key to the interpretation of total reality.³⁷

Lastly, the argument from practical expediency:

And yet, in spite of all these doubts and terrors, it was not possible — it was intolerable! — to conceive of a Godless world whirling through space towards a purposeless annihilation... It was not only good to believe in the immortality of the soul, it was necessary, it was essential, it was inevitable. No other conception was possible or tolerable; on no other understanding could one continue to live in hope and virtue.³⁸

I may be wrong to sense in the style and punctuation of this passage, and of its whole context, a deliberate mockery of Tennyson's line of thought; but if so, it is a mistake into which many of Mr Nicolson's readers must fall. The impression apt to be conveyed is that Tennyson, hysterical with cosmic terror, lost all power of rational thought; and that an obvious symptom of this loss was the stress which he laid upon the relevance of religious belief to successful living. And this was certainly one of his favourite forms of argument.

³⁴ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

³⁵ Fausset, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³⁶ *Enoch Arden and In Memoriam*, ed. cited, p. 216.

³⁷ That the human mind does in fact need a God, is still a questionable statement, perhaps incapable of confirmation or refutation; but the point here at issue is not the truth of Tennyson's statement, but the logical defensibility of his deductions from it.

³⁸ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-8.

Take away the sense of individual responsibility, and men sink into pessimism and madness.³⁹

If one cannot believe in the freedom of the human will as of the divine, life is hardly worth having.⁴⁰

But take away the belief in the self-conscious personality of God, and you take away the backbone of the world.⁴¹

"How absurd!" feel his critics. "Truth is an Absolute, entirely unaffected by the comfort or discomfort which may be involved in its recognition." They hold, in fact, to the so-called "correspondence theory of truth": that a statement is true, if it corresponds with "reality". They forget, in their haste to belittle Tennyson's intellect, that the "correspondence theory" is only one out of several conceptions of truth which have been held by respectable philosophers; they forget, in particular, the post-Tennysonian school of Pragmatism, whose founders have been charged with error, perhaps, but never with stupidity. For the Pragmatists, the criterion of truth was not: "Does this belief correspond with some absolute reality?" but: "Does it work out well in practice?" Especially relevant to this discussion is the historical origin of Pragmatism: a reaction to the "agnosticism" of Thomas Huxley, which made it a moral duty to confine belief to the positive discoveries of science, the propositions of which empirical verification was possible.

James' "will to believe" is a repudiation of agnosticism in this sense. Not only do scientific laws themselves represent a faith that goes far beyond the empirical evidence, but science tends to ignore the existence in man of other needs and instincts that have a claim to satisfaction. This does not give us the right to believe anything we like. But when belief attaches to momentous issues where decisive evidence is lacking, there is nothing to hinder us, if we keep in mind its tentative character, from extending belief to matters in which scientific proof no longer is attainable, especially when the issue is "forced", so that to withhold a decision is equally to lose the advantage that would follow from accepting it if the belief were a true one.⁴²

The Ancient Sage, in fact, anticipated the orthodoxy of Pragmatism when he advised: "Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt." No doubt every school of thought seems irrational enough to its opponents; but we are no more entitled to patronize Tennyson for using this type of argument, than any Idealist philosopher is entitled to patronize a Realist.

It may be prudent, since I write as a layman on matters of science and philosophy, to conclude by defining with some care the limits of my thesis. I do not suggest that Tennyson was a great thinker, in the sense that he propounded a systematic theory of metaphysics: what major poet has done so? I do not suggest that his conclusions were necessarily right: the

³⁹ *Enoch Arden and In Memoriam*, ed. cited, p. 215.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 211.

⁴² A. K. Rogers, *A Student's History of Philosophy* (New York, 1932), p. 477.

greatest philosophers are fallible. And I do not — of course not — suggest that other critics of Tennyson have been ignorant of the well-known theories in science and philosophy to which I have called attention.

I do suggest, that Tennyson never "quailed before logic";⁴³ that his attitude and methods of thought were never unworthy of a philosopher; and that he never fought, as is so often asserted, a dishonourable rear-guard action against the advance of science. On the contrary, he recognized that fighting is no way to discover truth, and regarded all thinkers, of whatever persuasion, as potential allies in the task of expanding human knowledge. He never refused to face the revelations of science: that he occasionally seemed to do so, resulted from his insistence on seeing them in a wider than scientific context. These suggestions I have tried to substantiate by reconsidering those of his arguments which are commonly supposed to demonstrate his mental incapacity or moral cowardice; and by showing that most of them have been used with perfect confidence, before or since his day, by thinkers of whom such depreciation would be absurd.

An objection may be made here, apparently grave: each of Tennyson's arguments may be logically defensible in itself, yet the use of them all together may still indicate a gross deficiency of "absolute apprehension".⁴⁴ But he did not use them all together. He never attempted a comprehensive exposition of his belief, or of his reasons for holding it: we have only the individual flashes of insight, the exploratory sequences of ratiocination, by which he tried to puzzle out what no thinker, however gifted, can with entire certainty apprehend. Meanwhile he held firmly to the principle that there are many ways to truth; none may reveal the whole, but each may reveal a necessary part. Therefore *all* forms of evidence — subjective and objective, intuitive and intellectual, mystical and empirical —, and *all* methods of thought — inductive logic, presumptive speculation, pragmatism hypothesis — must be forced to yield whatever fragmentary knowledge may lie within their scope. And this again, I suggest, was a genuinely philosophical attitude — far more philosophical than that of Thomas Huxley, say, or W. K. Clifford, who held that even a true belief should be rejected, rather than accepted "upon insufficient evidence".

If my view contains any portion of the truth, it will justify an inference not without irony: that evaluations of Tennyson's thought by twentieth-century critics have sometimes been based upon the assumptions of nineteenth-century science. Can it be that criticism, and not the poet, has failed to move with the times?

London.

PAUL TURNER.

⁴³ Nicolson, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

⁴⁴ Fausset, *op. cit.*, p. 151: "Feeling he possessed, knowledge he cultivated, absolute apprehension he lacked."

Notes and News

1919—1949

With the present number *English Studies* completes thirty years of existence. But for a break from October 1944 to October 1945, due to the war, this would have meant the completion of Volume XXX and the beginning of Volume XXXI; but that is of minor importance. What matters is that after thirty years of almost uninterrupted publication there is no falling-off of interest among either readers or contributors. Most of the former are still recruited from Holland, but there has been a substantial increase in the number of Scandinavian subscribers during 1948, while Switzerland continues to supply a remarkably large number of valuable contributions. Nor does active collaboration by English, American, and other scholars show any signs of abatement.

The Board of Editors has been further enlarged by the accession of Professors Simonne d'Ardenne (Liège) and Lorentz Eckhoff (Oslo) as representatives of Belgium and Norway respectively. In consequence, *English Studies* may now claim to represent the scholarly study of English in all the smaller countries of Western and Northern Europe. It remains to find ways and means to make a gradual return to the pre-war size of forty-eight pages per number, which would greatly increase the usefulness of the journal. An appeal to its friends in various countries to help us to achieve this aim by bringing *English Studies* to the notice of their students and colleagues will not, we trust, be considered out of place on this occasion.

Genesis and Exodus 2253-4

Lines 2253-4 of MS. 444 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, run as follows:

And quanne Josep hem alle sag
Kinde ðogt in his herte was.

In view of the fact that the rhyming in Gen. & Ex. is throughout very regular, it is evident that *was* cannot originally have been the last word of the second line. Emerson [Middle English Reader, 1923, p. 261] rejects the emendations proposed before him: "Morris' ðag = OE. ðā is impossible; ... Koch's late suggestion of stāg = OE. stāg is equally impossible, as OE. ā has regularly become ō in Genesis." He changes *was* into *lag*. This, too, seems incorrect, *lag* giving to the sentence a grammatical aspect

incompatible with the character of the preceding temporal clause opening with *quanne*, after which we naturally expect a sentence describing something that happened, not that already was. Compare: 2283 'ðo Josep sag him ðo bi-foren, ... Him ouer-wente his herte on-on; kinde luue gan him ouer-gon.' The editors appear to have overlooked the possibility of *wag* (preterite of *weyen*, OE. *wegan*) being the correct reading. That this exactly fits the sense may be gathered from the following instances: Beowulf 599, 'he lust wigeð'; idem 2464, 'heortan sorge wæg'; Christ 975, 'He on breostum wæg byrnende lufan'; Genesis 2239 [ed. Krapp] 'ongan æfþancum agendfreaan halsfæst herian, higeþryðe wæg', [= began to be insolent]. Bosw. & Toll. define this *wegan* as "to be under the influence of pain, etc.; have such and such feelings, bear a grudge." (OED. s.v. *weigh* does not mention this idiom). In 'kinde ðogt in his herte wag' *kinde ðogt* is the direct object, while the subject [*he*] must be inferred from the clause; and the meaning is: "when Joseph saw them all, he felt kind thought(s) [spring up] in his heart."

Also palæographically the misreading of *was* for *lag* is less probable than that of *was* for *wag*, since in the former case there is a change of two letters, and in the latter of only one to be accounted for.

Nijmegen.

F. TH. VISSER.

Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* II. ii. 172

In his *Faustus Notes*, Ghent 1898, p. 72, H. Logeman is of opinion that a prompter's book was used for the 1616 edition of Marlowe's tragedy. The above mentioned place (in his book line 733) reads: "Away to hell, away, on Piper!" The last two words, which are not contained in the edition of 1604, are alleged not to be in the text, but to be a warning to a musician. In fact, A. H. Bullen prints in his edition of 1885: "away! on, piper!" The latest edition, by F. S. Boas, does not take over this change, but maintains the explanation with a reference to *Much Ado* V. iv. 130-1, where the musicians are addressed by Benedick: "Strike up pipers".

If Bullen's emendation is correct, this view will be right, I suppose. Otherwise the explanation is certainly difficult. Yet I should like to point out a possibility which satisfies me far better.

In cap. 39 of the oldest Faust book of 1587 Faust conjures up "ein schön herrlich Pferd" and "mit demselben ritte er auff einen Jahrmarckt, Pfeifferring genant." A place of that name has, however, been looked for in vain. Robert Petsch notes on page 84 of his edition: "Eine Ortschaft dieses Namens kann ich nicht nachweisen". So we may take it that such a place never existed.

Already half a year after the oldest edition of the chapbook a rhymed version appeared in 1588 by some Tübingen students, who followed the text closely but took this place in quite a different meaning. Faust conjures up a horse there "dat hat er Pfeiffering genennt", and wants to sell it at an annual fair.¹ The old way of writing really allows this view, but a modern reader would not so easily have hit upon it. In order to make the sentence clear, "mit demselben ritte er auff einen Jahrmarckt" would nowadays have to be placed between brackets. The sixteenth-century view is, therefore, probably right, so that Pfeiffering proves to be the name of a horse conjured up by infernal witchcraft.

The English play-actors in Germany, who for obvious reasons took an interest in all that referred to Faust, may easily have introduced Piper into Marlowe's play as the name of an infernal monster.

In the later puppet-shows such a monster is still repeatedly spoken of. In Geisselbrecht the devil calls out: "Nun so kom nur, ich will dir gleichwohl ein höllenpferd geben, da kanstu drauf hinreiten..." I would almost add to this: "Away to hell, away, on Piper!"

Den Helder.

G. W. WOLTHUIS.

Questions and Answers

(See *E. S.*, Dec. 1948.)

Odd Man Out. The derivation of this phrase is, no doubt, correctly given by C.O.D., but I am doubtful whether anyone who uses it today connects it with the tossing of pennies or of any other coins. It is quite common in current colloquial English, and denotes a person who deliberately stands aloof from, or is unable to fit himself into, the society or the community of which he forms a part. This interpretation would seem to be borne out by the following extract from the preface, written by Alec Waugh, to a recently published work *Life Interests*, by Douglas Goldring.

How astonished Douglas Goldring would have been, could he have been foretold when he came down from Oxford in 1907 to start the adventure of a life of letters, that thirty years later he would be publishing *Odd Man Out* with the sub-title "Autobiography of a Propaganda Novelist"; nor indeed would the reader of this present book, who had no previous acquaintance with Goldring's work, guess from it that its author would have given himself that label. In the pages that follow Douglas Goldring is not a controversialist nor an assailant; he is an appreciator, writing with warmth and feeling of the things he has enjoyed.

¹ J. Scheible, *Das Kloster* XI (1849), p. 125. Cp. also my study on this rhymed version in *Levende Talen* 1948, p. 71.

The implication seems to be that in 1907 Goldring, who had been brought up and educated as a "gentleman", felt very much part of his world and accepted its standards, but that later, with his adoption of socialist views, he became alienated from it and turned to attack it in his written works.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

In Memoriam Victor Bohet

Victor Bohet, professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Liège, died on December 4th, 1948, aged sixty-one. He contributed two reviews to this journal in 1939. His chief publications are *La Prononciation de l'Anglais* (Verviers, 1917), a momentous event in the teaching of English in Belgium: he may be said to be the father of phonetics in this country; *The British World* (Verviers, 1918) in collaboration with J. Nokin, a valuable contribution to the study of "Commercial Correspondence and Views of Economic Life"; *La Formation des Elites* (Bruxelles, 1934), in which he expressed his favourite views on social, political and literary questions in quite a Shavian way, for he was a great admirer of G.B.S., views which he completed quite recently in *Lettres à Jacqueline sur le Capitalisme et le Socialisme* (Bruxelles, 1946), and in numerous articles and pamphlets. He was sometime professor of English Literature in the State University of Iowa (USA), and in Nottingham University and Southampton University College in England. A distinguished musician, he will be remembered both by scholars and artists for his kindness and original mind. — S. d'A.

Prof. Dr. G. Kirchner. Dr. Gustav Kirchner, who before the war contributed several articles and reviews to *English Studies*, has been appointed *ordinarius* Professor of English in the University of Jena, after having been made *extraordinarius* in 1946. His latest publication is a book on *Percy Bysshe Shelley als revolutionärer Dichter* (Iserlohn: Silva Verlag, 1948), a review of which will shortly appear.

Reviews

Kurze Geschichte der englischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Von WALTER F. SCHIRMER. xvi + 318 pp. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1945.

Professor Schirmer completed in 1943, and published in 1945, this new version of his standard work: *Geschichte der englischen Literatur* (Halle 1937; reviewed by H. Lüdeke in *English Studies*, XX, 1938, 219-23). It is a shortened as well as an expanded rendering of the original, undertaken in the interest of a wider reading public. Although it would probably have been easier for the author to write a new book on a smaller scale he did not shrink from the laborious task of partially rewriting the old text paragraph by paragraph, omitting names and facts of minor importance and sacrificing much of his description of the cultural background. Considerably more than half of the old text is gone. Professor Schirmer has performed the many complicated operations demanded by his plan of reduction with such skill that the reader does not become aware of sutures and scars, except perhaps when perusing the two texts side by side. The proportions of the new book are wisely adapted to its new purpose: the space allotted to the greatest works and authors has, relatively speaking, become larger than before. This and the simple and direct style make it rather more readable than its less popular forerunner. It goes without saying that it is no less reliable in its facts, no less comprehensive in its sympathies, no less sound and measured in its judgments. The fact that it is by no means intended to replace the original work is stressed by the absence of the valuable bibliography. Instead we find a very brief bibliographical introduction and running notes, mentioning the best and the most accessible editions and translations and a restricted number of critical works.

As we have hinted above the book can also claim to be an expansion of the *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*. It includes fifteen substantial new paragraphs on American literature, and gives prominence to the modern authors of England and America. Here Schirmer proves a safe guide, too, who helps the reader by his remarkable gift of vivid characterization and convincing classification. When dealing with modern literature he reserves most of his limited space for the facts, but he does not hide the reactions of his clearly conservative personal taste. Sometimes the reader will disagree with him, as is inevitable. The present reviewer deplores e.g. the following sentence: "W. B. Yeats, der grösste Lyriker der neunziger Jahre und der einzige, dessen Wirkung ungeschwächt ins zwanzigste Jahrhundert hinüberreicht, muss im Rahmen der irischen Neubelebung des Dramas gesehen werden," (271) and thinks that Yeats' activities for the revival of the Irish drama should not be allowed any longer to obscure his much more important achievement as one of the major lyric poets of our time. He

E. S. XXX. 1949.

could not accept the opinion that Joyce's *Ulysses* is "unlesbar" and that his work as a whole is "ein Fehlschlag." (288) He regrets that the account of Aldous Huxley's career could not be carried any further than *Eyeless in Giza* (292), and that we get an idea of John Steinbeck's subject in *The Grapes of Wrath*, but none of his peculiar method (300). More often, however, he admires the working of Schirmer's sense of value, his quiet way of arranging modern productions in a perspective that promises to be fairly correct, his imperturbability in the face of bluff and extravagance. Something we might easily forget to admire is the accuracy of the workmanship in this book: it must have been difficult enough to attain in the trying years when it was made. The few errors we have noticed are as follows: W. B. Yeats (1865-1939) not 1938 (259); *The Wind among the Reeds* is a volume of poetry, not of essays (260); *The Lake Isle (not Isles) of Innisfree* (260); J. M. Synge (1871-1909) not 1902 (260); Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) not 1825 (262), G. B. Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1898) not 1910 (265); E. A. Robinson (1869-1935) not 1934 (275); E. Hemingway, born 1898, not 1896 (301).

Basel.

RUDOLF STAMM.

Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Critical Essay towards the Understanding of his Poetry. By W. A. M. PETERS, S. J. xviii + 213 pp. Oxford University Press (Geoffrey Cumberledge) London 1948. 15/—

The cult of Hopkins, it has been observed,¹ is fading and his legitimate fame is spreading. One sign of this process is the increase in serious scholarly preoccupation with his work in recent years, culminating on the one hand in the enlarged and re-edited third edition of his poems by Dr W. H. Gardner and on the other in Fr Peters' admirable 'critical essay towards the understanding of his poetry'. Fr Peters combines two characteristics which are in themselves fortuitous but have enabled him to take a different and in some ways, as will be seen, more detached view of the work of Hopkins than has hitherto been the case: he is a Jesuit, and he is not an Englishman.

As a Jesuit he is more familiar with Hopkins' spiritual background and spiritual difficulties than many of the poet's recent critics since Fr G. F. Lahey; as a Jesuit he may be expected to take a firm stand on the question of the tension between Hopkins the poet and Hopkins the priest. He is in fact out to prove that Hopkins' individuality was not hampered in its expression by the atmosphere of the Society of Jesus, and that there was

¹ *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Third Edition revised and enlarged by W. H. Gardner, Oxford University Press 1948, p. xiv.

in fact no tension. He is therefore moved to exalt Hopkins as an individual poet, and concentrates his attention on Hopkins' sense of individuation by careful analysis of the central problem of 'inscape', based for the first time on a minute consideration of all the available lexical material.

'Inscape' [he writes] is the unified complex of those sensible qualities of the object of perception that strike us as inseparably belonging to and most typical of it, so that through the knowledge of this unified complex of sense-data we may gain an insight into the individual essence of the object... Now Hopkins habitually looked at objects with the fixed determination to catch what was individually distinctive in them in order thus to arrive at some insight into their essence as individuals. To express this set of individuating characteristics in a suitable term he coined the word 'inscape'. (pp. 1-2).

This definition, though complicated, is very illuminating and, once the evidence is presented on which Fr Peters has constructed it, it is seen to be convincing. It becomes apparent that this need to 'catch what was individually distinctive' was basic in Hopkins, that it was present before he made the acquaintance of the philosophy of Scotus, that it explains his eager reception of that philosophy, and further that 'inscape' has a religious significance for him in that it is the realisation of individual objects as 'charged with love, charged with God' (the words are Hopkins' own).

In this spirit Fr Peters sets out to explain Hopkins *von innen heraus* in terms of 'inscape', and from this starting-point he progresses with admirable logic and unfailing critical sense to achieve what is, to the mind of this reviewer, the most satisfactory explanation of Hopkins as a poet which has so far appeared. The publisher's blurb implies that the chief merit of the book lies in the assessment of the influence on Hopkins of the philosophy of Duns Scotus. It will be seen that this, though in itself interesting and important, is only secondary to Fr Peters' intention and achievement. His basic assumption is that Hopkins does not deal in mere poetic licence, but is tidy-minded and has a good reason for everything he does: his outstanding characteristics are due on the one hand to his attempt to 'inscape' the objects of his perception and on the other to the use of 'current language heightened', which indeed follows from the first. Starting from 'inscape', the 'obscurities' and 'oddities' which have so perplexed Hopkins' readers from Bridges and Dixon onwards are seen to fit into an intelligible pattern, and one of the strong points of Fr Peters' book is the acumen with which he applies his criterion.

It needed a foreign scholar to perform this so unperturbedly. It is, for the English reader, an interesting and instructive sight to observe principles of literary analysis, elaborated with great accuracy and subtlety on the continent, applied to problems which have so far puzzled native investigators. (There is, one suspects, a good deal more Walzel in Fr Peters than meets the eye; it is no bad thing that he has made it palatable to English readers.) It is particularly in the analysis of Hopkins' use of language that these principles make themselves felt, combined with the other, fortuitous, circumstance mentioned above: Fr Peters' native language is not English. This means that he is free from a number of associations

and inhibitions which confuse the English investigator and is thus able to pursue his own method to its logical conclusion. This is particularly evident in the last chapter, 'Inscaping the Word', where he attains results which make one Englishman at least shake his head in wondering doubt, but which the soundness of the approach appears to justify². His analysis of *The Windhover* in chapter 3 is admirable and convincing, as is the explanation of 'flockbells' in stanza 2 of *The Loss of the 'Eurydice'* on p. 116; but his unravelling of concealed homophonic associations in chapter 5, though brilliant (as in the explanation of 'folded' in stanza 15 of *The Wreck of the 'Deutschland'* on p. 160) sometimes raises suspicions of over-subtlety (as with the interpretation of 'barbarous in beauty' on p. 162). But Fr Peters is well aware of it. His sense of English style is too acute for him not to realise that in this chapter he is operating on the fringe of the acceptable. It is moreover his sense of style on which the whole book is based and it must compel admiration from any Englishman who has seriously attempted composition and the assessment of literature in a foreign language. Fr Peters' book reads like effortlessly written, English, English; the study of his author has doubtless sharpened his perceptions in these matters; occasionally indeed he permits himself phrases which are Hopkinsian but which do not seem to come strangely from him. It is therefore with a positive shock that one comes upon one (I have found only one) case of incorrect use of the continuous present ('progressive') [p. 185] and realises that the book is indeed by a 'foreigner'. It will certainly take its place as one of the outstanding contributions of Dutch Anglistics to English studies.³

Cambridge.

LEONARD FORSTER.

² 'We are entitled to adopt that attitude towards the poetry of Hopkins which he took up towards the *Iliad*' (p. 148). None the less one suspects that Fr Peters sometimes does with Hopkins what he admits that Hopkins has done with Homer, and reads subtleties into the text which are not there or at least were never intended. I note that some other reviewers feel this more strongly than I do, especially Dr M. C. Bradbrook *Cambridge Review*, 16.10.48), who finds herself disagreeing with Fr Peters 'in almost every extended passage of analysis'. Her criticism of Fr Peters is, however, not that he reads too many subtleties into the text, but that his subtleties are not the same as hers. There is room for a good deal of healthy disagreement on this point, but Dr Bradbrook, Fr Peters and the present reviewer seem to be agreed on the relevance of the method used.

³ There is a small bibliographical point which might be corrected in a later edition. I do not think more than one English reader in a thousand will catch the significance of the bare reference: 'Cf. Overdiep, *Stylistische Grammatica*' on p. 182. Overdiep has not accompanied Englishmen through their schooldays and only the specialist has ever heard of him.

The Novels of Virginia Woolf. By R. L. CHAMBERS. 102 pp.
Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd. 1947. Price 6/—.

This short but comprehensive essay falls into two almost equal halves. Chapters I-III ('Purpose'; 'Style'; 'Method') are concerned with Virginia Woolf's tricks of craftsmanship — linguistic and constructional — in relation to her aims and subject matter. The novels chiefly drawn upon for analysis are *Jacob's Room*, *Mrs Dalloway*, and *To the Lighthouse*. In Chapters IV-VII ('Contemporary Significance'; 'The Contemporary Scene'; 'Comparisons and Criticisms'; 'Permanent Significance') the author measures Virginia Woolf's achievement in the field of the novel against that of some of her contemporaries, before finally hazarding an absolute assessment of her art.

Mr. Chambers begins his argument by trying to mark out Virginia Woolf's peculiar territory as a novelist. We first hear of her obvious limitations:

The subject of her writing was the little world of people like herself, a small class, a dying class... a class with inherited privileges, private incomes, sheltered lives, protected sensibilities, sensitive tastes. Outside of this class she knows very little. When she speaks of shopkeepers she speaks of them as a separate species. (p. 1)

But her compass is yet more closely circumscribed; for she is "not interested much in what people do" (p. 2). Her approach is the antipode to the Balzacian view of life. Within the limits of her chosen environment, however, she weaves patterns of great beauty and original significance. It is her basic purpose "to annihilate the line, to make of all — time, space, person, self and other self — a unity in the iridescence of air" (p. 7). This can best be done by resort to poetic prose; and in the second chapter we are shown the technique whereby Virginia Woolf achieves the "digressive fluidity" and "subaqueous translucency" of her style.

After briefly examining Virginia Woolf's use of assonance, the author launches into a critical survey of her use of the "stream of consciousness" method from *Jacob's Room* onwards. It was her triumph that she was able to refine Joyce's technique, rendering it more immediately revelatory of character, while at the same time making it more intelligible to the common reader. She effected a compromise between an orthodox and a revolutionary mode of narration, "between the need for formal clarity of presentation and the formlessness apparently inherent in the 'stream of consciousness' technique" (p. 32). Mr. Chambers believes that the happiest balance between the two methods was attained in *To the Lighthouse*, which therefore remains Virginia Woolf's "greatest artistic success" (p. 38). The curious thing is that of the four works of fiction she subsequently produced (*Orlando*, *The Waves*, *The Years*, *Between the Acts*), only the first "can be said to follow by the logic of artistic development, the lines laid down in the work of her 'middle' period" (p. 39). Most of her late work, indeed, represents a dissipation of creative energy and, in some respects, a

regression. In the concluding portion of Chapter III we are shown by what technical devices Virginia Woolf attempted — not always successfully — to square her own 'omniscience' with the more limited perceptions and fragmentary reveries of her characters.

Chapter IV ('Contemporary Significance') is in the nature of a digressive interlude; occasionally it verges on the sententious. It is somewhat disconcerting to be reminded, in a work presumably intended for the mature specialist reader, that there "is a sense in which *In Memoriam* and *David Copperfield* speak not with the voice of Tennyson and the voice of Dickens, but with the voice of England almost a hundred years ago" (p. 59). Brief though this chapter is, its inclusion seems unwarranted in the economy of so slender a study.

In Chapter V Mr. Chambers sets out to correlate the temper of Virginia Woolf's novels with that of the *Zeitgeist*. Having drawn the customary distinction between the 'irresponsibility' of the 'Twenties and the 'apprehension' and more active social conscience of the 'Thirties (pp. 61-7), he suggests that Virginia Woolf was perhaps able to produce her best work during the earlier decade because her spirit was more in concert with its carefree solipsism, whereas the responsibilities of the 'Thirties turned her into a spiritually displaced person.

In his 'Comparisons and Criticisms' Mr. Chambers reveals himself as a critic of curiously limited sympathies. It is surely doing Virginia Woolf a disservice to attempt spuriously to exalt her reputation by blackening that of her contemporaries. Even if Lawrence "is often vulgar", and even though Aldous Huxley's characters "are almost uniformly unpleasant" (pp. 78-9) — and these are indeed large assumptions — such demerits in others cannot add to Virginia Woolf's own stature. Moreover it could equally well be argued that if the creator of Mrs. Dalloway was more conscious of human dignity than were some of her contemporaries, she could only cultivate this virtue by accepting the cramping limitations of subject matter we have already noted. Mr. Chambers is perhaps on safer ground when, again measuring his heroine against Lawrence and Huxley, he claims that "Virginia Woolf, who is in thought the least revolutionary of the three, was in technique the only real innovator amongst them" (p. 80). Yet here again, one cannot help wondering whether the critic is not guilty of bias; by narrowing the field of investigation unduly, he would seem to give false emphasis to Virginia Woolf's claims as a technical innovator. It may be true that Virginia Woolf manipulates the "stream of consciousness" method more subtly than either Lawrence or Huxley. But what of other writers? What of Dorothy Richardson, Wyndham Lewis, and John Cowper Powys? (Dorothy Richardson's *Pointed Roofs* was published as long ago as 1915.) And if Virginia Woolf is to be lauded for making Joyce's idiom fit for the common reader, then we must surely allow a similar merit to Powys, whose cult of the 'homely' brings us down to earth far more effectively than is possible in the ethereal Woolfian universe; and also to Wyndham Lewis, whose breathless urban kaleidoscopes (e.g. the

celebrated public house episode in *The Apes of God*) reproduce the stuff of diurnal existence with superb realism. Joyce's heirs are many, and it would require a far more elaborate analysis than that attempted by Mr. Chambers to grade them according to the degree of skill with which they have contrived to popularize the oracle.

Virginia Woolf is indisputably a great writer and a great novelist; but one is perhaps tempted to ask whether the adulation sometimes bestowed upon her does not impose too heavy a strain upon her rarefied stylistic medium. Is not the near-whimsical interpretation of her attitude to life, tentatively put forward by E. M. Forster in his *Aspects of the Novel*, more in keeping with her flitting, dragon-fly art? As with most impressionistic writers, it is her rare captures on the wing that we should applaud — her fleeting verbal felicities — rather than the ultimate weight of her 'bag'.

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CEDRIC HENTSCHEL.

Towards A Mythology. Studies in the Poetry of W. B. Yeats.
By PETER URE. University Press of Liverpool & Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London. 1946. 123 pp.

The purpose of this work is to show how, granted that the use of myth brings order, tradition, comprehensibility and unity into poetry, Yeats used the national mythology of Ireland, adapted it to a developing concept, and in his search for a mythology created a mythologising process which evolved a new myth to fulfil the functions of the old. This purpose is more than achieved; the account given of Yeats's poetry is the most satisfactory yet written. The reason for this excellence is that Mr. Ure has understood not only the text of the poems but the poet's personality, a vacillation between extremes, and his mind, a constant provider of paradoxes. To a certain extent *Towards A Mythology* gains from being itself paradoxical: the point, stressed by Mr. Ure, is carried out faithfully, that Yeats must not be categorised and systematised unduly, especially not from any preconceived attitude; yet it is because of the form in which this book is cast that a very useful explanation of a poem is often given, as, for instance, in the case of 'Her Vision In The Wood' and 'The Statues', where these poems can be explained in the light of Mr. Ure's constant view of Yeats's contradictory attitude.

In the first chapter the changes in Yeats's use of Cuchulain are treated with much penetration; the warrior symbolises the quality of heroism, and is an excellent example of Yeats's use of race experience. The treatment of the plays is unusual and valuable. In the second chapter, which deals with Yeats's discovery of the human personality, too much emphasis has been laid on Yeats's contemporary interest in the ancestors of 'Reveries',

a portion of *Autobiographies*, and of the prologue to *Responsibilities*, as revealing his first discovery of human personality. The beginnings of this are to be seen in the earlier poems of *In The Seven Woods* in which Yeats's praise of Maud Gonne becomes more personalised and more realistic. Such poems as 'The Folly of being Comforted' and 'Adam's Curse' mark a revision of his romantic attitude, and the change over to that description of Maud which accompanies the discovery of the family and other personalities who enrich Yeats's heritage. The Helen of 'No Second Troy' and the kindred poems of *The Green Helmet* represented the discovery of the inevitability of his love and its rejection, her patriotism and its inspiration; this discovery accompanies the realisation of what Irish politics meant, and how men were to be handled. Yeats only discovered all this at the age of thirty-five; he seems in many ways to have experienced an arrested development. Many of the other points made in this chapter are very valuable. The discussion of 'The Grey Rock' is more satisfactory than that advanced in *The Poet's Defence*¹, that Yeats had lost belief in the purpose of poetry; Mr. Ure realises that the material of several later poems is contained in 'The Grey Rock' but that

the crucible is not sufficiently hot for the various elements to be broken down into a genuine unity.

Yeats's view of history, his repetition, and his political outlook are correctly interpreted.

In the third chapter the inner power of the poet is stressed, but Mr. Ure is incorrect in using 'The New Faces' as an example of an attitude dating in the mid or late twenties; the poem was written in 1912². The discussion of *A Vision* in this chapter is a most balanced treatment of that work, for it is from the point of view of its function rather than its content that Mr. Ure queries the value of the book, and answers his questions with a full understanding of the mythological and mysterious aspects which Yeats saw in the work of *A Vision*. It gave Yeats pattern and order, a sense of power, 'metaphors for poetry', and the revelation of a secret knowledge. The explanation of 'Solomon and the Witch'³ is subtle and convincing; and the conjectured source of the beast of 'The Second Coming' brilliant. The chapter advances to a climax of good criticism, an appreciation of the moments when Yeats achieved a reconciliation between his opposites.

The fourth chapter, on the 'persecution of the abstract' has a good analysis of *The Words on the Window-Pane*, and the connection of the later plays with one another is well worked out. The explanation of *The Resurrection* is over-simplified, the theme of *Magnus Annus* having

¹ Cf J. Bronowski, *The Poet's Defence*, pp. 239-242.

² Cf. the reviewer's article 'The New Faces': a new explanation", *R.E.S.*, Oct. 1947.

³ The influence of Arthur Symonds's work upon Yeats's Solomon poems has been suggested in Roger Manvell's unpublished Ph. D. thesis *W. B. Yeats*, p. 65 seq., a copy of which is in the library of London University.

greatly occupied Yeats. There is further useful discussion of *A Vision*, and the fools discussed in the sixth chapter are interpreted by its doctrine. The desire for unity of culture and being, and for a universal order, was also responsible for these fools who appear in the 'mechanical songs' of Yeats's later periods.

The conclusion of the thesis is useful as an attempt to relate the 'otherness' of Yeats with modern consciousness, and the question of the relationship between symbolism and mythology is touched upon. This latter problem needs a much fuller discussion, for there are times when Yeats uses symbols as an end in themselves and the difference between this use and the uses which Mr. Ure's concept of mythology comprehends should be established.⁴ Though criticisms and queries arise in the course of reading this work their effect is to stimulate the reader into a fresh examination of Yeats's ultimate purposes; the contradictory nature of his ideas is often resolved by the large vista of the poetry presented in this book, so that the apparent lack of consecutive treatment of the poems becomes an asset. It is, in fact, an advantage when Yeats's remark to his wife is remembered:

I have spent my life saying the same thing in different ways.⁵

Mr. Ure has picked up the tangled threads with a delicate hand, and such is the reality evoked that our attention is drawn from the painted stage of criticism to the essential Yeats, of whom he writes:

Instead of clambering about like Baudelaire, on the sinking hulls of European belief, Yeats preferred to construct a raft whose accommodation was severely limited to one. His work therefore did nothing towards recreating the natural sources which had dried up. The major question arises: How much longer can poetry remain alive when those sources no longer exist? Yeats's achievement would seem to supply no equivocal answer, but the phenomenon remains, although scientist or sociologist may declare that it should never have occurred.

Throughout this work there is skilled understanding of a complex subject, and, a feature deserving the highest praise, the scholarship is everywhere illuminated by a creative imagination.

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⁴ Cf. Ian W. Alexander's article 'Valéry and Yeats. The rehabilitation of time', *Scottish Periodical*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1947, where the distinction between Yeats and the symbolists is based upon his belief in magic rather than mysticism.

⁵ Cf. G. D. P. Allt, 'Yeats and the revision of his early verse', *Hermathena*, LXIV, Nov. 1944.

Phonemics. By KENNETH L. PIKE. (University of Michigan Publications.) 254 mimeographed pages. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1947. \$3.00.

During the last few years Mr. Kenneth Lee Pike of the University of Michigan has come very much to the fore in American linguistics with his *Phonetics* (1943), *Intonation of American English* (1945), *Tone Languages* (1948) and the present book. *Phonemics* is in many ways typical of modern American linguistics: it is based on many years both of field work and teaching and offers a characteristic blend of theory and practice. On one hand the problems with which it deals are highly theoretical (should this or that cluster of sound be analysed as one or several phonemes? Just how much similarity must sounds have in order to be classed as submembers of the same phoneme? Is this or that phoneme best described as a vowel or a consonant? etc.). But on the other hand these theoretical discussions always have a practical end in view, viz. to establish "a technique for reducing languages to writing". The method of presentation is practical too: the writer is always careful to illustrate his statements with practical examples and to give concrete instances of the various procedures recommended.

The book is in fact a vade-mecum for investigators of languages, especially for those who want to describe little known or hitherto unrecorded languages, and a very good vade-mecum at that. It takes the student through a complete course of all the subjects involved, guiding him step by step from the simplest to the most complicated problems. At each stage the writer invites the reader to solve a set of problems, gives the solution, and then proceeds to a detailed discussion of how the solution was arrived at, indicating where the student is likely to go wrong, and why this or that possible solution is unacceptable. These problems are based either on a restricted number of data from some existing language, from which only restricted conclusions can be drawn, or on specimens of "the dialects of Kalaba", a hypothetical language devised for the purpose, from which the reader is asked to deduce the significant phonemic elements. The result is a complete set of analytical procedures to determine phonemic elements. Concrete examples are given of model descriptions of various languages. The student is even given advice about what title to choose for his future books, so as to facilitate cataloguing and references.

The first chapters, which prepare the ground for all this, consist in a course of practical and theoretical phonetics applicable to all languages, including a technique of mimicry and directions for various phonetic drills designed to increase flexibility and to break down the student's inhibitions as regards sounds not found in his own language.

Pike's concept of the phoneme is similar to that of the London school and opposed to that of the purely functional or "glossematic" school: "sounds must be similar in order to be submembers of the same phoneme" (p. 71), and it is not enough that they are mutually exclusive. Thus English [h]

and [ŋ] are two separate phonemes, though [h] never occurs at the end and [ŋ] never at the beginning of words. Pike admits, however, that at present "we have no certain proof of just how similar such segments must be" in order to constitute one phoneme.

These principles are reflected in a phonetic alphabet, where each phoneme has one and only one sign, non-phonemic phonetic variations being excluded, "since the native tends to be unaware of these differences". Purely phonetic amplifications which are not phonemically significant are avoided, thus English "take" is transcribed [tek] and "rote" as [rot].

To students of little-known languages the book must be a godsend; it must save them endless trouble, and they cannot go far wrong if they follow its directions. Pike is a master of commonsense and lucid explanation, and, without being "popular", the book should be easily understood by any careful reader, even if he is new to the subject. This is no doubt largely due to the fact that Pike's methods have been so thoroughly tried out before they found their present form: the book has been tested in the class-room with about 1000 students since the appearance of the first (mimeographed) version in 1943. But its usefulness is not confined to little-known languages. Even with the great languages of civilization, the techniques of phonemic description are as yet so little clarified, that students of them will also find it very useful indeed.

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

Points of Modern English Syntax

II

(Continued from the December number)

8. The general opinion was that *to look at* is an adverbial adjunct to *alike*, denoting in what respect the sisters were dissimilar (cf. *outwardly*, *in appearance*, *superficially*). Yet there is a difference. One feels a vague reference to an agent in *to look at*, unlike in the case of the adverbs. I would rather suggest that we have to do with an adjunct of attendant circumstances. The absence of a pause makes it undesirable to interpret the verb stem as a free adjunct.

9. Two correspondents scored a bull's eye with their answer to this question. Their argument, although somewhat differently worded, boils down to this: the groups *careful not to fall asleep* and *careful to conceal* both have the same leading adjective, yet they are formally different. In the first quotation there is a slight break after *careful* and a change of intonation, because *not to fall asleep* is an adjunct, or, if one likes, a

complement to *careful*. The latter word, therefore, is not only the leading, but also the dominant member of the group. In the second example the voice goes on after *careful* because the word only serves to modify or qualify *conceal*, which is the dominant member of the group. Those unfamiliar with the theory of word-groups will readily realize the difference when they observe that the second sentence can be paraphrased by a construction with an adverb: 'an amusement which she carefully concealed', a possibility that is excluded in the first case. The Dutch translations accordingly differ greatly: *hij zou er voor moeten waken niet in slaap te vallen* as against *een gevoel van vermaak dat ze zorgvuldig verborg*.

10. No satisfactory answers were received. A Sheffield correspondent writes:

I should not accept *help+but+the plain verbal stem* as recognized English, despite the quotations given. It is frequently heard in speech in this district, but I cannot recall hearing it in Kent, which is my native part of the country, or in the South generally. I always regard it as something of a bastard form — a confusion of *I could not but feel* and *I could not help feeling*. Perhaps the analogy of *choose* has something to do with it. (*He cannot choose but break*, Shak., *M. of Venice* III, i). With *choose* no objection can be raised: *but* restricts the choice so that it becomes, in effect, Hobson's choice, i.e. he cannot choose anything except to break. The same construction with *help*, however, would mean, logically, exactly the opposite to what it was intended to mean, i.e. *she could not help anything but to cry*: in other words she *could* help crying.

However well-founded our correspondent's objections may be logically, there is no doubt that the construction he takes exception to occurs in the best authors and is by no means rare. Jespersen (*Negation in English and Other Languages*, 80) thinks it American, a view for which there appears to be no foundation. As a matter-of-fact *cannot help but* has a more ancient English pedigree than *cannot help ... ing*. The latter construction seems to be quite modern, as modernity goes in linguistics. It does not seem to occur in Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope (Jespersen, *MnEG*. V, 8.21) and the NED cites no examples prior to 1711. Our Czech correspondent elaborately traces the historical development of *cannot help but*, for which labour of love we beg him to accept our best thanks. We are, however, not concerned with the genesis or historical development of the two constructions, but with their difference, if any, to the linguistic consciousness of contemporary speakers of English. It would seem to me that the facts are these: in negative and interrogative sentences the plain verb stem *help* is grouped with another plain verb stem by means of a conjunction *but* when the two verb stems thus grouped together are dependent on a leading verb *can*. In this case *to help* always means 'to avoid doing' or 'to prevent occurring'. The construction suggests that the consequences of the activity are unavoidable; it implies nothing as to the attitude of the person concerned with regard to the activity. When *to help* is construed with a verbal *ing*, as in the third quotation, the subject of the sentence is represented as offering an excuse for being unable to avoid the consequences of the activity.

III

11. One fellow of the Royal Society, I am told, did not even learn to talk till he was ten years old. He is still a rather inexperienced talker, but he designs and makes apparatus that can solve problems which have appeared insoluble to better talkers and mathematicians. J. B. S. Haldane, *The Inequality of Man*, p. 239 (Pelican Books).

What number is *apparatus*?

12. Mary Villiers was too good a sportsman to lament over her failure. Richard Keverne, *Missing from His Home*, ch. 8 (Penguin).

In general his regard for women was high, though obviously there were few things they did as well as men, but they certainly had a very low level of sportsmanship. In fact, the more gifted they were — and Jane really was a very clever woman, he had to grant her that — the worse sportsmen they seemed. R. Graves, *Antigua, Penny, Puce*, ch. 3, p. 31. (Albatross).

Does the fact that *sportsman* (*sportsmen*) in these quotations is used with reference to women, throw any light on the character of the noun from a point of view of word-formation?

13. "Aye", said Mistress Love grudgingly, she's a princess, if there's any difference among heathen." Erskine, *Young Love*.

Is *heathen* a singular? What is suggested by this use of the noun stem?

14. Surely that is true, in a sense, of all mankind — mankind and womankind. De Morgan, *Somehow Good*, ch. 10, p. 94.

Is there any difference in form and meaning between the two words *mankind*?

15. Turkey is the lucky, or as the case may be, the unlucky possessor of the Straits, which are a strategical cross-roads of the first order. Dr. F. Borkenau, *The New German Empire*, p. 176 (Penguin Special).

It may come one day, soon, that I stand at a cross-ways. Lipscomb and Minney, *Clive of India*.

Brigands used it as a headquarters. Dennis Wheatley, *The Forbidden Territory*, p. 124.

I was determined on taking her away from that ungodly surroundings. *Trader Horn*, p. 197.

Explain a *cross-roads*, a *cross-ways*, a *headquarters*, that *surroundings*.

16. That's how they came to be at the Station Refreshment Rooms, entering them — or rather it — for there was only one large public room in the hut — at the same time as a slender fair woman and her surprising companion. Priestley, *The Good Companions* I, ch. 6.3., p. 243.

Why is the plural form *rooms* used for what is expressly described as one single room?

17. The buildings in which the flat was situated was a comparatively small one. E. Ph Oppenheim, *The Thirteenth Card*.

Why has *buildings* singular predicative and attributive words?

18. ... the sea itself, with all its choral harmonies, is merely a place where fishes are caught. Norman Douglas, *Siren Land*, p. 80 (Penguin).

Would it make any difference to the meaning of the sentence if the author had said *where fish is caught*?

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P. A. ERADES.

Brief Mention

Twelve Hundred Years. The Literature of England. Vol. I. Edited by W. G. CRANE, W. G. GAFFNEY, D. M. WOLFE, J. H. BUCKLEY. xiii + 980 pp. Stackpole and Heck, Inc., New York, 1948. \$ 4.00.

This anthology will contain selections of English literature from Bede to Burke, vernacular as well as Latin, e.g. translations from the Latin works of Bede, Roger Bacon, Occam and others. The extracts of the first volume are grouped under three headings, the Opening Era, the Renaissance and Classicism, a broad but serviceable division. The earlier specimens are modernized or translated — the Old English pieces by Professors Spaeth and Carleton Brown — but from Chaucer onwards a number of pieces are given in the original spelling. Hence the work has a literary rather than a linguistic trend, and granting this, it provides a useful survey for both student and teacher. The introductions furnished for the individual epochs and writings are readable and contain much useful information. The anthology will be complete in another volume. — O. A.

Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning. Vol. 7. Göteborg 1947. 164 pp. 3 kr.

Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning is a linguistic journal edited by the committee of the Meijerberg institute for Swedish etymological research in Gothenburg university, and is devoted to the investigation of the Swedish vocabulary. It is written entirely in Swedish.

The present number is dedicated to the memory of Hjalmar Lindroth, late professor of Scandinavian languages at Gothenburg and a well-known authority on Swedish linguistics and place-names. It deals with a variety of Swedish words, notably a number of birds' names, and with one place-name, *Reval* (Tartu), minutely analysed by Professor Per Wieselgren.

Outstanding among its articles are Professor K. G. Ljunggren's contributions to Swedish word-history, which also contain various references to the Low German

vocabulary, and Professor Ture Johannisson's article on *andöva*, a Swedish dialect term. In the course of this he deals with the meaning and formation of a number of other words in *and-* and also gives some interesting notes on English word-formation. The article forms a sequel to Prof. Johannisson's earlier, well-known work on the origin of prefix-derived nouns and adjectives of which other instalments have appeared in previous issues of the *Arkiv*. — O. A.

Silver Poets of the Sixteenth Century. Edited with an Introduction by GERARD BULLETT. (Everyman's Library, No. 985.) xviii + 428 pp. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. 1947. Price 4/—.

This volume contains, modernized in spelling and punctuation, most of the poetical work of Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Raleigh, and Sir John Davies, much of which is not easily accessible elsewhere. Information about the authors is given in a useful Introduction (in which, however, Sidney is made to die at Zutphen). Each section is preceded by a mainly bibliographical note; one is surprised to find no mention of Hyder Rollins' edition of Tottel, nor of Flügel's edition of *Astrophel and Stella*. The explanatory notes are inadequate; so is the Glossary, which omits obsolete meanings of such words as *bait*, *endeavour*, and *hove*. The texts seem, on the whole, reliable, except for a few awkward misprints (such as *For* for *Nor* on p. 22, *Pull* for *Full* on p. 73, *inflame* for *in flame* on p. 113, *ensure* for *unsure* on p. 283), and for a mutilated version of Wyatt's famous *They flee from me* (cf. *E. S.* xxviii [1947] 179), all the more surprising as the relation between the original and the 'edited' version is discussed in the Introduction.

Apart from these blemishes, the volume can be warmly recommended. — Z.

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The American Language

Supplement II: The American Language, an Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. By H. L. MENCKEN. Pp. xiii, 890, xliii. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. \$7.50.

Early in 1919 Alfred A. Knopf, the New York publisher, brought out a volume by H. L. Mencken entitled *The American Language: a Preliminary Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States*. Reviewing this book several months later, an eminent American philologist made the following comment :

Whatever, therefore, of praise has been deserved by enthusiastic industry and constructive skill in composing this book must be freely granted, but Mr. Mencken must in turn be content with the judgment that finds but a modicum of linguistic value in it. The science of language requires a sustained elevation in accuracy of fact and trained perceptions in the discussion of principles. In this department of knowledge, as in all others, there is for the untrained aspirant an easy descent to the bottom of the unauthentic: *si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad inum*.¹

Seventeen years later, in 1936, the fourth edition of *The American Language* was published, and of it a reviewer made the following appraisal:

From the first he [Mencken] has served as a stimulus to others to study a too neglected field; but he proves that he can take it as well as dish it out, and now he furnishes us with a great storehouse of fact and comment well arranged, with amplitude of footnotes; a sound scholarly performance, in short, and so well written that he will have many readers who will not suspect how good his scholarship is.²

The volume to which the first of these reviewers referred is made up of 321 pages of text, a bibliography, a list of words and phrases, and a general index; and in the light of subsequent editions and supplements the adjective *preliminary* in the sub-title is unusually significant. Indeed, the state of knowledge of American English in 1919 was such that any study of the subject was necessarily a beginning, as Mencken clearly enough shows in his preface:

Greatly interested in these differences [between the English of England and that of America] — some of them so great that they led me to seek exchanges of light with Englishmen — I looked for some work that would describe and account for them with a show of completeness, and perhaps depict the process of their origin. I soon found that no such work existed, either in England or in America — that the whole literature of the subject was astonishingly meagre and unsatisfactory. There were several dictionaries of Americanisms, true enough, but only one of them made any pretension to scientific method,

¹ J. W. Bright, *Modern Language Notes* XXXIV (1919), 381.

² *American Speech* XI (1936), 356.

and even that one was woefully narrow and incomplete. The one more general treatise, the work of a man foreign to both England and America in race and education, was more than 40 years old, and full of palpable errors. For the rest, there was only a fugitive and inconsequential literature — an almost useless mass of notes and essays, chiefly by the minor sort of pedagogues, seldom illuminating, save in small details, and often incredibly ignorant and inaccurate. On the large and important subject of American pronunciation, for example, I could find nothing save a few casual essays. On American spelling, with its wide and constantly visible divergences from English usages, there was little more. On American grammar there was nothing whatever. Worse, an important part of the poor literature that I unearthed was devoted to absurd efforts to prove that no such thing as an American variety of English existed — that the differences I constantly encountered in English and that my English friends encountered in American were chiefly imaginary, and to be explained away by denying them.³

Curiosity, then, led Mencken to investigate the subject, and there being no adequate study of it, he wrote *The American Language*.

Two years after its publication a second edition appeared, followed in another two years by a third edition — each one containing revisions and additions. In 1936 the fourth edition, "corrected, enlarged, and rewritten," was published. Since then, so extensive has been the study of American English (and so indefatigable Mencken's own investigation of it) that *Supplement I*, a bulky volume covering the first six chapters of the 1936 edition, was brought out in 1945; and now *Supplement II*, which treats chapters VII-XI of the fourth edition, has been published. It is the fattest book on language to come from Mencken's pen. The material dealt with in the final chapter and in the appendix of the 1936 edition, the future of the English language and the various non-English dialects spoken in the United States, is not taken up in this supplement because of exigencies of space; likewise, a proposed second appendix treating such topics as the language of gesture, the language of children, the names of political parties, cattle brands, and animal calls is not included. One wishes, therefore, for another supplement, at least for a series of articles in the journals;⁴ but Mencken expresses doubt that there will ever be a third supplement:

At my age a man encounters frequent reminders, some of them disconcerting, that his body is no more than a highly unstable congeries of the compounds of carbon.⁵

However, he goes on.

In order to avoid fretting about this unpleasant fact I have arranged that all my books, pamphlets, journals, newspaper clippings and letters on speech shall go, at my death, to a place where they will be open to other students.⁶

Though it is surely as old as the expression *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, the problem of tracing cause and effect remains difficult: an example is

³ Pages v-vi.

⁴ The overflow is, in fact, already beginning to appear; see Mencken's "Names for Americans," *American Speech* XXII (1947), 241-256.

⁵ *Supplement II*, p. v.

⁶ *Ibid.*

the study of American English during the past thirty years. The general want of knowledge of the subject in 1919 is evident in the quotation given above from Mencken's preface to his first edition; the change that has come about is eloquently testified to by the thickness of his most recent volume. But whether or not the 1919 *American Language* brought about this new interest is hard to say, though I should be inclined to weigh its influence and that of its succeeding editions heavily. At any rate, since 1919 the American Dialect Society has undergone a rejuvenation, the Modern Language Association of America has established a discussion group devoted to "Present-Day English," the journal *American Speech* has been founded,⁷ and such works as the following have been published: *The English Language in America*, by G. P. Krapp (New York, 1925); *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, edited by W. A. Craigie and J. R. Hulbert (Chicago, 1938-44); *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, by Hans Kurath and others (Providence, 1939); *The American Thesaurus of Slang*, by L. V. Berrey and M. van den Bark (New York, 1942); *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, by J. S. Kenyon and T. A. Knott (Springfield, 1944); *American Dialect Dictionary*, by Harold Wentworth (New York, 1944). Thus the lack of information that led to Mencken's writing his own book in 1919 has been so fully supplied, not least through his own example, that he might well now lament the inability of any one man to deal with the mass of material treating American English.

A further means of showing the new interest in American English during the past thirty years (and at the same time the growth of Mencken's own study) is through the following chart, where the number of pages devoted to the five topics treated in *Supplement II* is set alongside the space that they take up in both the 1919 and the 1936 editions:

	1919 ed.	1936 ed.	Supp. II
The Pronunciation of American	11	60	268
American Spelling	26	37	61
The Common Speech	65	58	64
Proper Names in America	33	81	247
American Slang	9	35	144

It is now time to consider the contents of *Supplement II*.

The long chapter on American pronunciation falls into four parts: its general characters, the vowels, the consonants, and dialects. Though for a variety of reasons the differences between the English of America and that of England are not now so great as they were when Mencken first looked into the subject, divergences continue to exist. That pronunciation is not

⁷ For Mencken's part in the founding of the journal, see "'American Speech,' 1925-1945: The Founders Look Back," *American Speech* XX (1945), 241-246.

the least of these has become widely known, for much of the trouble that uniformed Americans had in comprehending British speech when they were stationed in England during World War II, and much of the amusement that the British derived from their allies' way of speaking, can be explained by differences in pronunciation. Borrowing from musical terminology, Mencken suggests that the pronunciation of the English "tends towards *glissando*," while that of Americans "is predominantly *staccato* and *marcato*."⁸ Other aspects of American pronunciation are, of course, discussed here: the ready tendency to stress the first syllable of a word, the confusion frequently evident in pronouncing loan-words, and (the most striking characteristic of all) the uniformity of American speech. Indeed, no careful observer can fail to notice the sameness of American pronunciation, and Mencken is surely right in assuming that the future will bring greater uniformity than now exists. The first section of the chapter ends with several pages of comment on such topics as intonation and timbre, which have but recently begun to receive scientific study. In his discussion of vowels and consonants Mencken follows the 1936 edition rather closely, save for the setting-down of the results of latter-day investigations. The section on dialects, however, differs considerably from that in the fourth edition, for it has been expanded more than sixfold. The remarkable thing about American dialects is that, as Mencken puts it, "in all its history, indeed, the United States has produced but one dialect that stumps a visitor from any other part of the country, and that is the so-called Gullah speech of the Negroes of the Southern sea-islands."⁹ So again the uniformity of American speech — furthered by railroad, automobile, moving-picture, and radio — is evident. But there remain differences, of course, and the variations of pronunciation found in the three chief dialects of America — General American, New England, and Southern — are thoroughly discussed. In fact, some 150 pages are devoted to a survey of sectional differences of speech in which each of the forty-eight states is treated individually. The length of these discussions varies, from brief paragraphs on such states as Colorado, Michigan, and Vermont, to essays of half-a-dozen pages on such others as Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Further, there are accounts of the English dialects of such widely scattered places as Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Canada; and there are brief discussions of various racial dialects to be found within the United States. All this is most illuminating and thorough, and so full are the footnotes and so complete the bibliographical data (not only here, indeed, but throughout the book) that the omission of a single study of any consequence seems highly improbable. These pages, then, are the inevitable starting-point for students setting out in the future to investigate regional or racial dialects in America.

⁸ *Supplement II*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

The chapter on American spelling has not been expanded with successive editions of *The American Language* as has that on pronunciation. In this supplement, Mencken begins with a brief discussion of the influence of Noah Webster, whose fame as the author of a speller has waned as he has come to be remembered more and more as a lexicographer. He then proceeds to a treatment of what is called "The Advance of American Spelling," where something of Mencken's linguistic patriotism is evident, though he is less concerned now than he was in 1919 with twisting the lion's tail, for he continues to point out the superiority of American to English spelling; yet he readily admits his preference for such a non-American spelling as *connexion*. Though interest in spelling reform is declining, Mencken reports the recent efforts of those who would reform our orthography — efforts that are likely to fail because they lack both the authority of the schools and the will of the people. Several pages are taken up with a discussion of loan-words, which in American English are usually deprived of such foreign traces as accent-marks and non-English plurals, and the chapter concludes with a section on punctuation, capitalization, and abbreviation. As every careful reader can see, Americans tend to use less and simpler punctuation than they were once accustomed to, and capitalization is not so common as it has been. But abbreviations have been thriving during the past decade and a half, largely because of the proliferation of American governmental agencies whose names are often so complex that abbreviations are of necessity substituted for them.

"'Correct' spelling, indeed, is one of the arts that are far more esteemed by schoolma'ams than by practical men, neck-deep in the heat and agony of the world."¹⁰ Thus Mencken reveals something of his deep-seated distrust of authority, and throughout the chapter on "The Common Speech" there is evidence of the same attitude. Though the study of descriptive grammar has made great advances throughout the United States in recent years, one has but to look at the textbooks used, not only in American high schools, but also in the colleges, to realize that the prescriptionists continue to hold sway. Besides, they are ably supported by most teachers of English grammar in both high school and college. It is, indeed, a sobering thought — and a significant commentary on American education — to reflect on the large number of supposedly intelligent Americans who consider *It is I* right and *It is me* wrong and who look upon such niceties of usage as a body of knowledge no less important, say, than such studies as philosophy and literature. This chapter deals with the following aspects of "the common speech": outlines of its grammar, the verb, the pronoun, the noun, the adjective, the adverb, the double negative, and other syntactical peculiarities. Mencken is surely on solid ground when he here reports and comments on the departures from accepted usage, for the student of the language ought to concern himself with *what is*, not merely with *what is correct*. And

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

so sensible a statement as the following, though it may seem trite to the philologist, ought to raise doubts in the minds of many readers of this book — it is, after all, written not for scholars alone — concerning the rules to which they were subjected during their school-days:

Language, in fact, is very far from logical. Its development is determined, not by neat and obvious rules, but by a polyhedron of disparate and often sharply conflicting forces — the influence of the schoolma'am, imitation (often involving misunderstanding), the lazy desire for simplicity and ease, and sheer wantonness and imbecility.¹¹

Books can, of course, be many things to many men. *Supplement II*, in fact, can be read with profit by anyone interested in increasing his understanding of America. Especially is this true of the chapter on proper names, for in it one becomes aware, not only of the polyglot make-up of the people (as revealed by the names they bear), but also of many of the forces that have influenced the civilization of the United States (as shown by its place-names). Though American scholars have not yet produced so monumental a series of studies as those of the English Place-Name Society or even so imposing a collection of volumes on personal names as those written by their English colleagues, they have been showing an increasing interest in proper names. In this chapter their studies are recorded, assimilated, and discussed under four main headings: surnames, given names, place-names, and other proper names.

Much of the material included here is new, for since 1936 Mencken has had access to an analysis of 43,900,000 names made by the Social Security Board, and he has not neglected the several million names of those who served in World War II. Among the facts that he assembles is that roughly ten percent of all Americans share fifty surnames, the most common being the following: *Smith, Johnson, Brown, Williams, Miller, Jones, Davis, Anderson, Wilson, and Taylor*. There are, however, interesting regional deviations from this pattern. In New York City, for example, *Cohen* is first, with *Murphy, Kelly, Meyer, and Schwartz* among the first ten; in Chicago, *Johnson* is first, with *Peterson* and *Thompson* among the first ten; in Philadelphia, *Kelly* is seventh; in New Orleans, *Levy* is second; in Grand Rapids, *DeVries* is sixth and *DeYoung (DeJong)* ninth. The names now borne by Americans, however, are not always those of their ancestors, and Mencken devotes many pages to an account of the shifts of fortune undergone in the American melting-pot by family-names brought from Europe by the Dutch, the Germans, the Jews, the Poles, and various other peoples. The section ends with comments on the surnames of Orientals, American Indians, and American Negroes, and with the presentation of evidence showing that the spelling of surnames is less subject to change than their pronunciation.

The reader who is attracted to the curious and the unusual will find much to interest him in the more than sixty pages devoted to given names.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

Following data now over a quarter of a century old, Mencken lists the following as the most common given-names of American males: *John, William, James, Charles, George, Thomas, Henry, Robert, Joseph, and Edward*. Though there may be some variation from time to time, it is improbable that a new set of given names will replace these, which, after all, have weathered centuries of usage.¹² Recent years, however, have seen the development of three unusual tendencies in the naming of American children: the increasing popularity of nicknames as given names (*Sam, Ed, Tom*, and the like), the bestowal of initials on boys instead of names, and "the fashion for inventing new and unprecedented names for girls, often of an unearthly and supercolossal character."¹³ Each of these is especially common in the South and Southwest, sections of the country at which Mencken's barbs have been often directed, and there is no little gusto in his discussion of these onomastic aberrations. Hundreds of these odd names are set down: *Coita, Dynama, G'Ola, Lemma, and Vasoline* among the girls; *Arson, Bun, Esther Mae, Foil, and Zurr* among the boys. Even at that, the list could be considerably expanded.¹⁴

The section on place-names is an excellent introduction to the subject and the obvious point of departure for any future studies of American local nomenclature since the status of place-name research in each of the forty-eight states is set forth with characteristic fullness. Moreover, the richness of proper names in America is further shown in the final section of the chapter, where the names of such diverse objects as apartment-houses and churches, Pullman cars and race-horses are taken up. There is, finally, a series of discussions of the nicknames of the forty-eight states.

The last chapter treats American slang. The first section is a brief but sound discussion of the nature of slang, in which the uniformity of slang in the United States is shown, a state of affairs to be explained by the fact that American slang stems from movies and radio and from the gag-writers, newspaper columnists, and press-agents who infest New York and Hollywood. The remainder of the chapter is an extensive treatment of cant and argot. Here, Mencken points out the varied origin of certain slang expressions, sketches the history of cant lexicography in England, and summarizes recent studies of American cant. He then proceeds to discuss the speech of hoboes, beggars, prostitutes, and drug-addicts, and the language of show-folks, jazz musicians, and those persons connected with

¹² On April 30, 1948, shortly after *Supplement II* was published, the American Institute of Public Opinion, commonly known as the Gallup Poll, released the results of a survey made to determine, not the most common, but the favorite name for boys in America. The first ten names in the list are those given by Mencken save that *David, Michael, and Richard* are substituted for *Thomas, Henry, and Edward*. Mencken does not attempt a list of the most common girls' names; the Gallup Poll, however, lists the following as the ten favorites: *Mary, Elizabeth, Helen, Susan, Margaret, Ruth, Anne, Carol, Barbara, and Linda*.

¹³ *Supplement II*, p. 475.

¹⁴ See Thomas Pyles, "Onomastic Individualism in Oklahoma," *American Speech* XXII (1947), 257-264.

stage and screen. Then follows a series of cant vocabularies taken from the unfinished and unpublished Federal Works Project *Lexicon of Trade Jargon* which deals with the vocabularies peculiar to such varied occupations as those of aquarists, apple-pickers, baseball-players, chautauquans, dog-breeders, sand-hogs, soda-jerkers, and many more — all of which, like the long account of proper names, is a valuable contribution to Americana. The chapter ends with a treatment of World War II slang, which, as is commonly known, was marked by the constant overworking of a few four-letter words and was on the whole monotonous and dull.

Though there is no passage in this book equal for its humor to the account of the creation of the word *ecdysiast* given in *Supplement I*, Mencken's style remains a delight; he is, in fact, one of the stylists of our time. Eminently clear and frequently pungent, he has the ability to achieve vivid expressions that do not pass from the reader's memory. One might cite his designation of Teachers College, a division of Columbia University, as "the Lhasa of American pedagogy";¹⁵ his description of various governmental bureaus as "high calibre lancets for bleeding taxpayers";¹⁶ his reference to the first American women who engaged in school-teaching as "milkmaids armed with hickory sticks."¹⁷ One feels the delight that he takes in using such a word as *ablonogastrigolumpiosity*,¹⁸ the joy that comes to him on discovering a lake named *Chargoggagaugmanchaugagoggchaubunagungamaugg*.¹⁹ The vicissitudes encountered some years ago by the American Dialect Society he considers "a catastrophe which rocked the small world of 100 % American *Sprachwissenschaftler* almost as dizzily as the larger world of American physical scientists had been rocked by the hanging of Professor John W. Webster of Harvard in 1850."²⁰ The belief that *you-all* is used only in the plural, he declares, "is a cardinal article of faith in the South, and questioning it is almost as serious a *faux pas* as hinting that General Lee was an octoroon."²¹ And there is relish in his opinion that the word *rubberneck* "may be homely, but it is nevertheless superb, and whoever invented it, if he could be discovered, would be worthy not only of a Harvard LL.D., but also of the thanks of both Rotary and Congress, half a bushel of medals, and thirty days as the husband of Miss America."²²

Mencken has for years been looked upon as the foe of authoritarianism and the defender of liberty, and his opinions of tyranny and freedom are not absent from his linguistic studies. His frequent derogatory references

¹⁵ *Supplement II*, p. 325.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 647.

to the schoolma'ams, for example, can be attributed to the fact that they symbolize for him the unscientific approach to the study of American English, and his insistence on the validity of usage in determining correctness is but one example of his belief in freedom. As a result of his many years as a Baltimore newspaperman, he possesses an intense curiosity, without which this book and its predecessors could hardly have been written; and his interest in and amusement by the human race are everywhere evident. The presence of Mencken himself in this work, however, does not detract from the soundness of the conclusions that he draws. As an example, his prejudices are apparent in what he writes concerning the trend towards standardization of American pronunciation, but the main point that he is making cannot be questioned:

As year chases year they [Americans] tend in ever increasing multitudes to eat the same food, wear the same clothes, live in houses of the same sort, follow the same recreations, admire the same mountebanks, fear the same hobgoblins, cherish the same hallucinations and delusions, and speak the same language.²³

Moreover, his freedom from sham and hypocrisy is evident in his remarks on the reluctance of students of the language to examine in a scientific manner words and phrases not ordinarily used in mixed company:

The ethnologists have long ago got rid of the prudery here denounced, but among philologists it is still all too prevalent.²⁴

One should, in conclusion, note the presence in this book of occasional misprints and slight errors of fact. Scholars, too, will continue to wonder about the absence of phonetic symbols to illustrate pronunciation, will probably quibble over Mencken's stubborn insistence on using *philologist* instead of the more common *philologist*. But in the end these are hardly more than trivia that detract little from a book that has become, and is likely long to remain, a classic.

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HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Notes and News

Two Notes to the Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

I

In Chaucer's description of the Squire he tells the reader that this young man

...hadde been somtyme in chyvachie
In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie.

CT. A 85-86

In a note to this passage Skeat quotes Tyrwhitt to the following effect: "It most properly means an expedition with a small party of *cavalry*; but is often used generally for any military expedition." T. We should call it a "raid". (V, 85)¹

The word *chyvachie* is explained by NED as 'an expedition on horseback; a raid, campaign.' (s.v. *chevachee*.) The first quotation given is:

c 1380 *Sir Ferumb*. 1005 Þat chyuachee for to do.

The second is the one mentioned above from the Prologue.²

This explanation is also found in Skeat's glossary to the small Oxford edition³ (a military expedition), and has been generally adopted by later editors: Pollard⁴ 'an expedition on horseback', Liddell⁵ 'an expedition', Wyatt⁶ 'a raid, an expedition on horseback', Robinson⁷ 'cavalry raid or expedition, [etc.]', while Delcourt⁸ refers to NED.

The word, then, is looked upon as a class-noun and the question arises why Chaucer did not use an indefinite article in connection with it. From a metrical point of view there would have been no objection to 'in a chyvachie', since the article could have been slurred over, as is so often the case. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the expression is one of the numerous *calques* on French phrases which are found in Chaucer's works.

The OF word *chevalchie*, which originally denoted 'a riding, a ride', is defined by Godefroy as: 'hommes à cheval, cavalerie (II, 111); troupe de chevaliers armés; service à cheval dû par un vassal (IX, 73)'. Tobler-Lommatzsch (I, 362) gives the following definitions: 'Zug von Pferden,

¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 6 vols. and suppl. Oxford, 1894-7.

² Variant readings: *chiuachye*, *chyuachie*, *chyuachye*, *cheualrie*. The last is evidently a corruption.

³ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works*, etc. 1 vol. Oxford, 1923.

⁴ A. W. Pollard, *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, The Prologue, London, 1947.

⁵ M. H. Liddell, *Chaucer, The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, etc. London, 1930.

⁶ A. J. Wyatt, *Chaucer, Canterbury Tales*. London, Univ. Tutorial Press, 1941.

⁷ F. N. Robinson, *The Poetical Works of Chaucer*, Cambridge, Mass., 1933.

⁸ J. Delcourt, *Contes de Cantorbéry*, Contes Choisis; Bibl. Phil. Germ., Paris, 1946.

von Reitern; Reitergesellschaft; Ritt, Kriegsdienst zu Rosse als Lehnspflicht; Reiterangriff.' Godefroy-Bonnard-Salmon has: 'troupe d'hommes à cheval, cavalerie'. This dictionary gives, however, as one of the senses of *chevalchëure*: 'expédition, poursuite à cheval'. Grandseignes d'Hauterive⁹: 'Chevalcheüre, -cherie, -chie: Action de monter à cheval; service militaire; Chevauchée, [etc.]'. Littré: 'Terme de féodalité. Service à cheval envers le roi ou quelque seigneur. //Spécialement, service militaire dû par le vassal en vertu du lien féodal, à la différence du service d'ost dû par tout habitant de la seigneurie.// Incursion hostile; cours de gens armés'. (I, 595-6.)

Littré's 'incursion hostile' gives us the French equivalent of 'raid', and comes very near the sense given by NED for the English term: expedition.

The phrase 'en chevalchie' is found in two quotations in these dictionaries:

S'il avient que jou ai mestir de mes homes en ost ou en cevacie.
1240, Ch. de Gerard, [etc.].

In this quotation the sense is defined by Godefroy as: 'servicé à cheval dû par un vassal'. (Godefroy, *Compl.* IX, 73.)

The other example, which occurs in Littré, is from the thirteenth-century *Floire et Blanceflor* (1. 67). It seems better to quote the whole passage from the edition by Edélestand du Méril, Paris, 1856:

Uns rois estoit issus d'Espaigne;
De chevaliers ot grant compaignie.
En sa nef ot la mer passée;
En Galisse fu arivée.
Felis ot non; si fu payens.
Mer ot passé sor crestiens,
Por ou païs la praie prendre,
Et les viles torner en cendre.
Un mois entier et quinze dis
Sejorna li rois ou païs.
Ains ne fu jors qu'o sa maisniée
Ne féist li rois chevauciée; (1. 67)
Viles reuboit, avoires praoit
Et a ses nes tout conduisoit:
De quinze liues el rivache,
Ne remanoit ne bués ne vache,
Ne castel ne vile en estant:
Vilains n'i va son boef querant
Es-vos le païs tout destruit;
Payen en out jcie et deduit.

Ll. 55-74 (pp. 4-5).¹⁰

⁹ R. Grandsaignes d'Hauterive, *Dictionnaire d'ancien français*, Paris, 1947.

¹⁰ We have quoted the lines from Du Méril ('Still best edition', U. T. Holmes, *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature*, Vol. I, The Mediaeval Period, Syracuse, 1947). F. Krüger in his edition of *Li romanz de Floire et Blanche flor*, Rom. Studien 45, Berlin, 1938) giving the A version (Bibl. Nat. fr. 375 (alt 6987) (end 13th century) and the variant readings from B (Bibl. Nat. fr. 1147 (alt 7534) (14th c.) has:

- A. Ne fu nus jors k'o sa maisnie
Ne fust li rois en chevauchie.
- B. Ains ne fu jour qu'o sa mesniee
Ne feïst li rois chevauchiee.

In line 67 the oldest version (MS A) reads:

Ne fust li rois en chevaucie.¹¹

If we adopt the oldest reading as the correct one (as is evidently done by Littré) it will be seen that the phrase is found here in a different sense. The whole passage makes it clear that a raid, or rather several raids are referred to, and 'en chevaucie' might be translated as 'on a raid' or 'on an expedition'.

That the word 'chevalchie' actually could denote a somewhat longer expedition is evident from the following quotations from Villehardouin:

Granz fu la guerre entre les Frans et les Grex; .. Lors fist une chevacie Henris, li freres le conte Baudoin de Flandres, et mena grant partie de la bone gent de l'ost .. Et s'en partirent à un vesprée, et chevaucherent toute nuit; et l'endemain, de halte hore, si vindrent à une bone vile .. et la pristrent .. Ensi sejournerent deus jors en cele vile .. Al tierz jor, s'en partirent .. et chevauchierent arriers vers l'ost. (XLIX; 226-7).¹²

En cel termine, Bonifaces li marchis de Monferat, qui ere à la Serre, que il avoit refermée, .. fist chevauchies (A. fu chevauchiez) trosque à Messinople, et la terre se rendi à son comandement. (CXV; 495).

The OF phrase 'en chevalchie' obviously had two senses which were closely connected: 'in military service (of a special kind)', and 'on a raid or an expedition'. So the phrase as it stands in Chaucer may mean that the Squire 'had seen service in Flanders, Artois and Picardy'. On the other hand it might mean that he had been 'on an expedition'. The practical difference would not be very great, since such service would in this case necessarily have taken the form of an expedition.

In either case the English phrase is a *calque* on the French one.

(To be continued)

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

It will be seen that our phrase, if phrase it can be called, is found in the oldest manuscript.

Du Ménil, on p. CCXXIV of his 'Introduction' says: 'Quand les leçons du manuscrit A, de celui qui, selon toute apparence, a le plus fidèlement conservé la forme primitive, nous semblaient trop obscures ou trop grossièrement incorrectes pour ne pas être altérées, nous en trouvions presque toujours de meilleures dans un autre à peu près aussi ancien.'

Littré's quotation is probably based on the edition by Bekker, who published the A-version, Berlin, 1844 (Intr. CCVI note). Du Ménil adds: 'les variantes ont évidemment, pour la plupart, l'intention de substituer des mots plus intelligibles à ceux qu'on n'aurait plus suffisamment compris'. (CCVII)

¹¹ There is no corresponding passage in the English version.

¹² M. Natalis de Wailly, *Geoffroi de Villehardouin*. Paris, 1874.

Reviews

Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Langue Anglaise. Par FERNAND Mossé. (Collection Les Langues du Monde, Vol. II.) xiv + 268 pp. Lyon: IAC. 1947. 266 fr.

Prof. Albert C. Baugh (in the Preface to his *History of the English Language*, 1935) very conveniently makes a distinction between the internal and the external history of the development of English, the former having for its subject sounds and inflections — as he rather too concisely puts it —, the latter 'the political, social and intellectual forces that have determined the course of that development at different periods.' It is with this external history that M. Mossé in his *Esquisse* is principally concerned, only taking in his stride a few of the most essential points of historical grammar. He has succeeded in writing a clear and readable survey of the vicissitudes of the English language through the ages, pre-eminently suited for those students for whom the works of A. C. Baugh, H. Bradley, O. Jespersen, G. H. McKnight, Stuart Robinson and R. Huchon are either not accessible or too comprehensive.

The chapters deal with: I Old English (dialects, sounds, forms, syntax, vocabulary, foreign elements, literary language); II Middle English (the Conquest, French and other influences, the language at the end of the XVth century); III The Renaissance (Humanism and Reformation; 'enrichment' of the language, orthographical problems); IV From the Restoration to Pre-romanticism (the classical language, vocabulary); V The Nineteenth Century and the Contemporary Period (pronunciation, orthography, vocabulary, form and syntax); VI 'L'Anglais dans le Monde' (Great-Britain, The British Empire, The United States of N. America; English as a World-language).

Each chapter is followed by a bibliography; there are maps and drawings and a proper index.

The book is mainly a straightforward record of facts and contains little of a speculative character. That is why only a few points call for comment.

On p. 192 the English language is called the richest language in the world. This statement is probably correct; but can it be *proved*, as the Author tries to do, by referring to the results obtained by statisticians from a count of the words in the existing dictionaries? As to the OED every expert is aware not only of the hundreds of unintentional lacunae, but also of the thousands of intentional omissions, included e.g. in the *etc.*'s added to the series of examples of compounds ('air-breathing, -spun, -defiling, *etc.*; air-borne, -bred, *etc.*'); s.v. *black* we read 'black-aproned, -backed, -bearded, -berried, *etc.*, *etc.*'; their number may be increased indefinitely, and they may have derivations: "blackheartedness". Again, s.v. *non-* the O.E.D. states that only a small proportion of the words beginning with this prefix are illustrated, 'no attempt having been made to represent with any degree of fullness the very extensive development in the use of the prefix during

the last hundred years.' And yet Mr. Ramsey, Mr. Mossé's authority, gives the number of compounds as 107555. And what about the dictionaries of the other languages? Unless they are composed according to a uniform system — which they are not —, they are not comparable in this respect. Moreover, what is a word? How many words is e.g. *present* (1 = not absent; 2 = actually in hand; 3 = now actually existing; 4 = the present document or writing; 5 = the present time [in: 'up to the present']; 6 = a gift; 7 = the act of presenting or aiming a fire-arm; 8 = to bring in the presence of; 9 = to introduce at court; 10 = to name and recommend (a clergyman) to the bishop; 11 = to hold forth to view, etc.). In the OED this 'word' has five entries; how many do similar words have in the French and German dictionaries? The OED registers separately prefixes and suffixes, and more than one form of the verbs (e.g. *abandon*, *abandoning*, *abandoned*). Are all these to be counted as words? To what degree are the technical, scientific, popular, vulgar and obscene words, and the adjectives and verbs formed upon proper names and having acquired more or less connotative value listed in the dictionaries? And what about slang and dialects? American English is English too; it is, however, so meagrely represented in the OED, that it has been found necessary to write a separate dictionary dealing with it. Even taken roughly the figures on which Mr. Mossé relies are unsatisfactory.

What, on p. 23, is said about the pronunciation of the OE sounds (the *r* is not mentioned) gives the impression that we know everything about it with certainty ('*ç* comme dans ang. *church*; *w* comme en ang. *moderne*' [bilabial and back??]). The statement (p. 29) '*Ils disaient* [viz. in the Old English period] *he wæs singende* comme l'anglais d'aujourd'hui dit *he was singing*' suggests a non-existing identity in meaning of the two usages. Why is the section on the *i*-umlaut (the other varieties of umlaut are not mentioned) entitled 'L'inflexion' and not 'La métaphonie'? I doubt whether 'avant la conquête normande, la langue demeurerait presque uniquement germanique' (p. 33). The adjective *fæstlic* (p. 25) should have been printed without, and the noun *dic* (in *fæsten-dic*) with a macron. OE. *ceap* is not a word (directly) borrowed from Latin (p. 38) [West Germanic **kaupjan*, Gothic *kaupon*], neither is *scrifan* (p. 39). *Geladung* (p. 40) should be *gelaðung*. Why *alwaldend* and *almihtig* in their Anglian and *anfealdnes* and others in their W.S. forms? 'Prends-les' would not be *nim him* (p. 42), but *nim hie* in OE. The statement (p. 53) that 'chacun des hémistiches [in OE alliterative poetry] a quatre syllables' needs revision: there are four metrical elements, two lifts and two dips: the number of syllables is indifferent (within certain limits, that is). Incorrect also is the assertion (p. 79) that *who* 'ne prend que tardivement (XV^e s.) la valeur d'un véritable pronom relatif', the OED (s.v. *who* 9) has instances from 1297 on. On p. 82 the Author calls the type *she wolde han caught* a 'temps surcomposé'. If by this term he means a group of verbal forms one of which is 'empty', i.e. has no syntactical function and is consequently redundant, as in the examples adduced by Prof. C. de Boer in his *Syntaxe*

du Français Moderne § 2 (e.g. 'Tu as eu bien joué pourtant'), it is difficult to agree, because there is a decided difference in meaning between 'she would catch' and 'she would have caught'. Is it the whole truth to aver (p. 83) that the decay of the inflexional endings made for fixity of word-order? Was not in many cases the latter phenomenon the cause instead of the result? 'Au XVI^e siècle on n'aurait plus dit *him thinketh, us thinketh* comme au XIV^e,' it is stated on p. 84. But in St. Th. More's works there occur quite a number of instances (e.g. Wks. 15 C11, 'the company.. descanted therof to his rebuke, as *them thought*'; idem Jest p. 2 A11, '*Him thought, That way was nought*'). In the 'Avant Propos' M. Mossé expresses the hope that the reader 'pardonnera à un Français d'avoir souligné l'influence de sa langue sur l'anglais'; the caution, however, with which he draws his conclusions exculpates him from blame in this respect. Yet there are a few points concerning which I cannot share his opinion: Does not the following selection of Old English quotations quarrel with the statement (p. 99) that 'sur le modèle du français *aller chantant, venir courant*, on s'est mis à dire *to come rydande, he went sekyng*?: c 1000 Ælfric tr. Deuter. (Grein) XXVIII, 33, þe mid bismore ofsittan, þæt þu gange wafiende for hira þinga and ege. | idem Judges IV, 20, gif her ænig man cume acsigende embe me, þonne andswara þu.. | idem 22, And Barac com sona acsigend embe þone sisara. | idem Colloq. 45, ealle niht ic stande ofer hiz waciende for þeofan. | idem De Nov. Test. 15, 34, Jacob.. *wunode* on þam lande binnan Hierusalem *bodiende* geleafan. | idem Gen. IV, 12, þu *færsp* [sic] *worigende* and bist flyma geond ealle eorðan. (Also in Gothic: 2 Cor. I 23, ei *freidjands* izwara... ni *qam* in Kaurinþon). On p. 109 the Author says about the auxiliary *to do* that at the end of the 15th century 'on commence à s'en servir.. dans les phrases négatives'; Engblom (On The Origin of the Aux. *to do*, Lund 1938), however, records a number of instances of considerably earlier use. Dunbar's 'Lucerne in derne, 'or to discerne Be glory and grace devyne' is not felicitously translated by; 'Lampe dans les ténèbres qui ne discernent que la gloire et la grace divine.' (p. 105). I do not see what the Author means when he states (p. 121) that without the Auth. Version of the Bible words like *backbiter, hireling, cony* and *wine-bibber* 'ne seraient plus compris sauf de ceux qui ont une culture littéraire assez poussée.' On p. 127 St. Thomas More and Sir Thomas Elyot are said to have been the first to use certain words, apparently because the OED has no earlier instances. Is this not relying too implicitly on the trustworthiness of this dictionary? The words may have been in oral use long before and never been printed, or if they were printed, may have occurred in texts not investigated by the compilers of the OED. The verb *to anatomize*, said to have disappeared from the language (p. 130), is still in use. On p. 222 the Dutch are not mentioned among the immigrants into the United States, but on p. 229 examples are given of words borrowed from their language. On p. 236 we read: 'Son extension mondiale [viz. of the Eng. language] date du XIX^e siècle, c'est à dire du moment où elle était déjà une langue achevée.' Query: what is 'une langue achevée'?

Of A. G. Kennedy, *A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language*, etc., 1922 (mentioned in *Bibliographie Générale* p. 241), we now have a second edition (1945).

As often, so here, the fault-finding part of the review occupies more space than the laudatory. To prevent wrong conclusions, I most emphatically wish to add that M. Mossé's excellent book in no way resembles the Curate's egg, parts of which were good.

Nijmegen.

F. TH. VISSER.

Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Volume II. By MARIO PRAZ. (Volume 3 of *Studies of the Warburg Institute*, edited by FRITZ SAXL.) Pp. xi + 209. London: The Warburg Institute. 1947.

Nine years ago¹ in reviewing the first volume of Professor Praz's *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* I referred to the need for a comprehensive bibliography of emblem books and expressed the opinion that the Warburg Institute could do no greater service than to foster it. At the time I did not know that Professor Praz had already completed such a work and delivered it to the editor. The outbreak of war naturally interrupted the plan for its publication, and one can only hope that the long delay enabled him to make a few additional entries. Now it has at length appeared, on excellent paper, printed (like the first volume) by the Saint Catherine Press of Bruges, and bound in the same white buckram that has stood up so well under a decade of use — a handsome outside worthy of the excellence within. It will take its place at once as an indispensable book for students and collectors alike.

Professor Praz is certainly too modest in suggesting that his work ought perhaps to be called a catalogue rather than a bibliography. Prepared "according to the strict rules" with complete collations of each edition, such a bibliography would run to many times the length of this volume without a corresponding increase in usefulness; it would have required many years to complete such a labor. In its present form this *Bibliography* is just the sort that is needed. It is both concise and comprehensive, supplying not only the bare details of title and date, but adding notes on the texts and plates often of the greatest value. While a strict bibliography would have to be limited to the description of individual copies that had been actually examined, this method has permitted the inclusion of details when they were available and of briefer entries when they were not. In choosing this form for his work Professor Praz has shown admirable judgment.

¹ See *E. S.* XXI (1939) 223-225.

For the first time he has brought together a list of all the emblem books found in the special bibliographies of de Vries, Vinet, de Backer-Sommervogel, Funck, etc. To these he has added others listed in the sale catalogues of the great British emblem collections of the past — the White Knights Library (1819), Stirling-Maxwell (1860), Thompson Yates (1896), and many others. He has also drawn upon the published catalogues of the world's great libraries, and made extensive researches in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Vatican and other Roman libraries, seeking out their emblem books and noting variations in titles, dates, texts, and engravings. In particular he acknowledges access to the catalogues of the two greatest contemporary collections, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's at Nether Pollock and that of the late Mr. Allan H. Bright at Colwall. One observes with satisfaction that Professor Praz's own collection of emblems is large and significant.

The location of copies is one of the most useful features of the *Bibliography*, telling the scholar at a glance where he will be able to consult a particular edition of some rare emblem book. The first entry, for example, *Partheueia Sacra* (1633) which I believe Professor Praz rightly ascribes to Henry Aston, indicates copies in the British Museum, Pitt, Heber, White Knights, Nether Pollock, Bright (from Thompson Yates), and Praz collections. Only quibblers will object that three of these collections were dispersed more than a century ago. It is important to know that they once contained the book; librarians who have not at hand the rare catalogues of the Pitt or Heber sales may perhaps trace the provenance of their copies through this information. The Yale copy of *Partheueia Sacra* contains book plates of the Van der Helle and the E. and A. W. Arnold libraries, but I cannot tell whether it came from one of the earlier collections.

The only American library Professor Praz has drawn upon is that at Harvard. Though the information comes too late to be of service to him, it may be worth while to note some of the emblem books in the Yale University Library that do not appear in the *Bibliography*. This list does not pretend to completeness, being based simply on a comparison of the titles found under the subject heading of Emblems in the catalogue; an examination of the author entries would certainly reveal others.

[Amman, Jost].

Insignia Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Impressvm Francovrti ad Moenvm, apvd Georgivm Corvinvm, impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendij. 1579. [Woodcuts by Jost Amman; text by Philipp Lonicer.]

[Bertoni, Giovanni Battista].

Vaticinia sev Praedictiones Illvstrivm Virorvm.... In Venetia, Appresso Gio. Battista Bertoni. 1600.

Caussin, Nicolas.

[De Symbolica Aegyptiorum Sapientia.... Coloniae Agrippinae, I. Kinkius, 1623.] Yale copy lacks title-page.

Polyhistor Symbolicus, Electorum Symbolorum, & Parabolarum Historicarum Stromata.... Coloniae Agrippinae, Apud Ioannem Kinckivm sub Monocerote, 1631.

E. S. XXX. 1949.

Chertablon, de.

La Maniere de se bien preparer a la mort par des considerations sur la Cene, la Passion, & la Mort de Jesus-Christ, avec de très-belles estampes emblematicques, expliquées par Mr. de Chartablon.... Anvers, G. Gallet, 1700.

Drechsel, Jeremias.

Nicetas or the Trivmph ouer Incontinencie.... Translated into English by R. S. [Rouen ?]. 1633.

Hoburg [sic.] Christiano.

Lebendige Hertzens-Theologie.... Franckfurth und Leipzig, Bey Michael Brodhagen. 1691.

Hohburg, Christian.

Emblemata Sacra.... Franckfurth und Leipzig, Bey Michael Brodthagen. 1692.

[La Feuille, Daniel de].

Essay d'un dictionnaire contenant la connoissance du monde, des sciences universelles, et particulièrement celle des medailles, des passions, des moeurs, des vertus et des vices, &c.... Amsterdam, D. de La Feuille. 1700.

Veen, Jan van der.

Jan van der Veens Zinne-beelden, oft Adams Appel.... 't Amsterdam, by J. J. Bouman. 1659.

[Vondel, Joost van den].

Vorstelijke Warande der dieren.... 't Amsterdam, by Sander Wybrantsz., in de Heerestraet; Jan Blom, op de Lauwrier-graft, in Knodsenburgh; Andries Vinck, op de Utrechtsestraet, en Aert Dircksz. Oosaaen, op den Dam. 1682.

Some of these books are probably to be found in the *Bibliography* under another listing which I may have missed in my necessarily cursory comparison; some have doubtless been deliberately omitted because they do not fall within the classification Professor Praz has adopted. There will inevitably be a few whose absence is to be explained in other ways: *Eyn Wunderliche Weyssagung von dem Babstumb...*, Nürnberg (1527) and *Joachini Abbatis Vaticinia circa Apostolicos Viros, Bononiae* (1515), both in the British Museum, are examples in point. But only those who know by personal experience the difficulty involved in finding an anonymous book of this sort in the general catalogue of a vast library can fully appreciate the magnitude of Professor Praz's achievement. He has done his work with extraordinary care, transcribing with scrupulous accuracy the eccentric spelling of Renaissance printers in half a dozen languages. In more than two hundred pages the only misprint I suspected was under *Johannis de Brune* (p. 30); the Yale copy reads *Johannis de Brunus I.C. Emblemata of Zinne-werck* (1624), which may, of course, indicate a variant title page. It is ungracious even to mention such a trifle in dealing with Professor Praz's monumental work, which will stimulate the study of emblem literature and assure him the lasting respect and gratitude of scholars everywhere.

Yale University.

GORDON S. HAIGHT.

English Emblem Books. By ROSEMARY FREEMAN. xiv+ 256 pp.
31 illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus, 1948. Price 21s. net.

The renewed vogue for the metaphysical poets, fostered by both scholars and poets, since Grierson produced his memorable edition of Donne in 1912 and T. S. Eliot linked Donne and his school with the other metaphysical movements in European literature (the mediaeval one with Cavalcanti and Dante and the nineteenth century one with Baudelaire and Laforgue) which were for him sources of inspiration and technique, has caused in the last few years a remarkable output of research-work into Elizabethan and metaphysical imagery, and brought about a new point of view in the study of Shakespeare's dramas. After the monumental and somewhat overwhelming book of Miss Rosamund Tuve (*Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, The University of Chicago Press, 1947), Miss Rosemary Freeman's study, pleasantly enriched with well-chosen illustrations, comes as a relief. Both Roses are multifoliate, but the last named has a definitely sweeter scent. In the pages of the present journal (XVI, 4 : August 1934) I stressed the importance of the study of emblems for a correct appreciation of certain aspects of Elizabethan and Jacobean imagery, and gave a very short survey of English emblem literature, trying to improve upon H. Green's amateurish attempts of the last century (in his edition of Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* and in his more ambitious work on *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*); in 1948, a few months before the appearance of Miss Freeman's book, the Warburg Institute published my *Bibliography of Emblem Books*, being the second volume of my *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, whose publication had been greatly delayed by the war (the book was sent to the printer in 1939). Miss Freeman has been able to throw much additional light on English emblem literature, and, indirectly, to correct some of my assumptions. She has shown that the suggestion (which I accepted from Fr. Gervase Mathew) that Herbert (not Henry) Aston may be the H. A. author of *Partheneia Sacra*, cannot be convincingly supported, and therefore she reverts to the old attribution of the work to Henry Hawkins, although, she admits, 'why he chose to sign some of his works with the initials H. A. and some H. H. must remain a mystery' (may it be that Hawkins latinized his name? In Latin, hawk is *accipiter*). While her *Bibliography of English Emblem Books to 1700* contained in Appendix I integrates the data given in my *Bibliography*, her study of the nature of the emblem and of the technique of the emblem writers carries a step further the research I had started with my *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, which laid more stress on the historical development than on the psychological explanation of the emblem habit. From the historical point of view, she does not refer to Volkmann's *Bilderschriften der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1923, which was based on the pioneer work of Karl Gielhow (*Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance*, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerh. Kaiserhauses, XXXII, 1, 1915); her authority on the hieroglyphics seems to be Samuel

Sharpe, whose *Notes on the Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous* published in 1845 in *Original Papers read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London* have been superseded by the research of the above-named scholars. And she fails to point out that the 'Valerius' mentioned by Charles Hoole stands actually for 'Valerianus' (Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzani, the author of the *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum ... literis*). (Another slip occurs on p. 58 where she speaks of one of Whitney's historical emblems: Attilus about to be thrust into "a tunne with nayles": it should be Attilius [Regulus]).

Miss Freeman's most valuable contributions lie in the definition of the emblematical image and its difference from a poetical image, and in the estimate of the potentialities the emblematical image had as a method for poetry. A comparison between Wither's and Blake's treatment of the symbol of the marigold helps the author to define that difference. The emblematiser equates, the poet identifies; the former chooses his image and imposes some significance upon it, the latter, on the other hand, begins with his ideas and concentrates them into the single image (in this particular case, the sunflower), which then becomes their symbol invested with all the richness of a complex meaning. In Blake the connection is recognized to be intrinsic, in Wither it remains arbitrary. In his imposition of meaning upon a predeterminate image, Miss Freeman justly contends, lies the essential weakness of the emblem writer's method. 'His symbol is a matter of choice not of necessity, and because he deduces his ideas from it instead of concentrating them in it, it remains the arbitrary product of a fanciful rather than an imaginative experience.' Convincing as this distinction appears, Miss Freeman is bound however to admit that the case of George Herbert must be considered as exceptional. Herbert's method is that of equation rather than of identification; his images are symbols in precisely the same sense as the images of the emblem writers, and yet they are the means by which he achieves his success as a poet. She concludes that the poems of Herbert show that the emblematical image had potentialities as a medium for poetry; that the poet succeeded not in spite of the emblematical method, but with its help. In fact the allegorical way of thinking was pervasive and habitual during the XVIIth century, and the emblematical image had great vitality. Precisely this is what makes it so difficult to assess the exact contribution of the emblem writers to literature: coincidences of subject and treatment do not necessarily involve a priority of the emblematiser to the poet; rather, as the emblem writers were making capital of commonplaces and the stock-in-trade of literary culture, they can hardly claim the honour of being the originators of anything. The emblem literature is the most spectacular example of the vulgarization and liquidation of a mode of thinking which had had its hey-day in the Middle Ages; the emblematiser made common counters out of many a *thesaurus* of learning, mostly for the sake of interior decoration and of the entertainment of polite society, providing elegant devices for plasterers and embroiderers and elegant topics of conversation and posies for courtiers and ladies,

until, after the seventeenth century, their further debased counters became a plaything for the nursery. The immense and hardly deserved popularity of Quarles offers the chief illustration of the nature of emblem literature. He flattered the multitude with the illusion of getting the hang of the difficult metaphysical poetry (though his wit is rather of the antithetical than of the metaphysical kind). Emblems had enough 'mystery' in them to appeal to the fastidious, on the other hand, their diluted wit could be easily digested. The English emblem book which in literary merit appears to surpass all others is *Partheneia Sacra*, 1633, whose author followed the example of a number of works written to encourage the worship of Mary. In expanding the theme of the garden, and extracting moral lessons from all its parts, H. A. was merely further elaborating a scheme adopted for instance by Father Louis Richeome in *La Peinture spirituelle, ou l'Art d'admirer, aimer et louer Dieu en toutes ses œuvres et tirer de toutes profit salutaire*, Lyons, 1611, in which the pictures, gardens, etc. of the Jesuit College of S. Andrea al Quirinale offer starting-points for emblematical considerations. Father Richeome's minute descriptions find parallels in *Partheneia Sacra*. Here is for instance a description of the lily (*Peinture spirituelle*, p. 590):

La fleur de Lys communement blanche, a sa forme en son tout & en ses parties; en son tout, elle porte la figure d'une cloche bien evasée, & large, se restressissant vers sa tige, ayant au dedans ses petis battans verds & longs: chascun d'iceux portant son martelet d'or: les fueilles sont recourbees au dehors, semblables en grandeur à celles du Laurier, mais moins poinctues & plus charnues, ayant trois cordons du long, comme trois canelures...

Read after this *Partheneia Sacra*, p. 31:

Among the which (flowers) the *Lillie* carries hers (leaves) very long, and green, the stem, high and round, streight, united, fat, & firme, al clothed with leaves. On the top whereof, grow out as it were certain wyers, with heads thereon, or buttons somewhat long, of the coulour of the hearb, which in time grow white, and fashion themselves in forme of a bel of satin or silver. From the bottome and hart therof, grow upright, some little wyers of gold, with heads like hammers of the same. The leaves wherof, of an exquisit whitenes, al streaked and striped without, goe enlarging themselves, like a bel, as before is sayd.

Richeome dates his dedicatory epistle from Rome, 1611; Hawkins entered the English College at Rome in 1609, and the Society of Jesus in 1615.

But emblem books, whether they declared it or not on their very frontispieces, belonged more to the class of repertories than of literary works proper. As repertories they were consulted by Lyly ('while a courtly Euphuus was poring over one emblem book to find witty ideas with which to enliven his conversation, his wife was embroidering his coat from another'), by Sir Thomas Browne and others. Spenser's mind worked according to the emblematical method; Miss Freeman has excellent remarks on the static, heraldic character of his imagery and extends her analysis much beyond those of his works which are deliberately emblems. Equally penetrating is her treatment of Herbert: 'The moral of Herbert's poetry, unlike that of the emblem books, is a highly complex thing, but like that of

the emblem books it is built up through images. Yet the function (and hence the quality) of these images is different: for Herbert they are the focus of ideas, for Quarles merely the source of ideas.' She concludes that to the building up of so rich a simplicity as that of *The Temple* the emblem method made a definite contribution. The acuteness of Miss Freeman's study of English writers in the light of the emblem tradition, and the mass of information she has been able to collect on the history of the *genre* in England, render her work a standard book of reference for all students of English seventeenth-century literature.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

Milton's 'De Doctrina Christiana'. An historical introduction and critical analysis. By ALBERT J. TH. EISENRING. The Society of St. Paul, Fribourg, Switzerland. 1946.

This work has a fivefold aim. The Introduction is to 'trace historically critical Milton portraiture in the main studies published since the discovery of the manuscript of the "Doctrina Christiana"'. It is becoming customary for writers on Milton to preface their own studies with an account of previous criticism, especially its development in this century from the orthodox acceptance of Milton's merits through the denigratory period to the more balanced objectivity of recent writers. As the number of these surveys increases their value tends to diminish.¹ They rarely approach completeness and could be replaced by an all-embracing and unbiased summary, supplied with cross references to particular aspects if necessary; a large amount of repetition would thus be avoided. In such specialised work as Miltonic criticism it should not be necessary for each new writer, and studies in the Miltonic field are rising like mushrooms after a shower of rain, to summarise what has already been written, because the reader will be aware of most of this work, and the bias of the new writer should emerge without his necessarily defining his attitude to his predecessors. These general remarks apply to Professor Eisenring's Introduction but some smaller points must also be raised. For instance, he attacks E. M. W. Tillyard's *Milton* on the grounds that it does not provide a final judgement on Milton's achievement because 'the reader is left entirely to himself to accept as wrong or right what best pleases him'. But the work in question is an admirable exposition of Milton's life and work and one in which when the reader has been led to a point where he can make his own judgement the work of exposition has been completed. Mr. Tillyard is constructing a basis for criticism, and Professor Eisenring seems to demand too much from this particular study when he writes:

¹ Cf. Douglas Bush, *Paradise Lost. Some Comments*; A. J. A. Waldock, *Paradise Lost and its critics*; B. Rajan, *Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader*.

The reader of such a study as Tillyard's has a right to know whether the end of development towards a certain aim can be admitted or rejected.

The statement that Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *Milton* of 1935 was 'received in the English-speaking world with the greatest attention' is perhaps a little over-emphatic in its enthusiasm. An important work omitted from the Introduction is Professor Maurice Kelley's *This Great Argument* (Princeton 1941). Menaka's 'The Critical Reception of Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*', *Texas Studies in English*, 1943, could also have been consulted.

The second aim is to give *De Doctrina Christiana* its chronology in Milton's life and work. The history of the text from its discovery in 1823 to the present day is well and clearly described, likewise the account of the manuscript itself. The history of the manuscript from Milton's death is good, but the reason for dealing with it out of chronological sequence is not apparent. The reasons against Milton's publishing the treatise are cogently argued, but the comment that its authoritative tone would have injured if not nullified its influence is questionable in view of the certainty with which Milton generally put his views. The question of the date of the *De Doctrina Christiana* is dealt with by a survey of the principal studies on the subject. The dating of 1641 advanced by Rev. A. D. Barber² is not mentioned, and Maurice Kelley's *This Great Argument* which is opposed to many of Arthur Sewell's points is also missing. Professor Eisenring's own conclusion on the date is vague; he merely stresses the fact that the work gives us Milton's fundamental thought, the product neither of juvenile rashness nor of a broken senile mind.

The third aim is the analysis of the treatise. The text used is Sumner's translation, and the Latin original is quoted in footnotes for important passages. This analysis is a very useful piece of work, and allows Milton's thought to be seen easily. Nearly all the 7000 Biblical references and quotations have been omitted since Milton intended them 'merely' to illustrate his speculations. The omission of these references and quotations does, as Professor Eisenring intends, show the direction of that

maze of expository rivulets trickling among banks of Biblical quotations; those expositions, winding among the banks of texts, and professing to be wholly washings from them, that contain the substance of the treatise.³

But is the 'merely' justified? Masson's statement is more careful; he states that Milton professed that the treatise was 'wholly' from the Biblical sources, and thus his statement is more in accordance with Milton's own record in the Preface to the treatise:

After a diligent perseverance in this plan for several years... it was ... evident to me, that in religion as in other matters, the offers of God were all directed, not to an indolent credulity, but to constant diligence and to an unwearied search after truth; and that more than I was aware of still remained, which required to be more rigidly examined by the rule of Scripture, and reformed after a more accurate model.⁴

² *Bibliotheca Sacra* XVI, 1859, pp. 557-603, and XVII, 1860.

³ D. Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, Vol. VI, p. 822.

⁴ J. Milton, Preface to *De Doctrina Christiana*, Works, Vol. XIV, p. 7 seq.

Sub-headings and sub-divisions have been added to Milton's individual chapters in order to make Milton's reasoning stand out more clearly. Tables to illustrate Milton's Theodicy and his idea of man's restoration after the Fall are also provided, and these give an excellent schematised arrangement of Milton's thought.

The fourth aim is the illustration of Milton's refutation of the fundamental doctrines of Christian belief and thought. His attitude to the following is discussed: the Trinity, the Creator, the immortality of the soul, monogamy, and predestination. In this section Milton's views are stated and then followed by the Anglican and Roman Catholic beliefs, so that the extent of Milton's divergence from orthodox doctrines can be seen. As Theology is here the main matter of interest it is reasonable to expect that Milton's sources should be compared to the *Doctrina Christiana*. The sources have been examined in Arthur Sewell's study, and the influence of Ames and Wolleben emphasised, while Maurice Kelley also deals with these two theologians and Ursinus. Both Zancius and Rivetus should also be examined, and their effect on Milton estimated.⁵ But in this study the sources are listed without any examination of their contents; and this omission is probably responsible for the harsh view taken of Milton's heterodoxy. The Epilogue asserts that Milton's speculations about the most important problem of faith and knowledge went wrong. The reader, however, is left wondering whether the reason for Milton's individualistic religion lies entirely with Milton's use of liberty. Professor Eisenring states that Milton 'used the liberty to interpret the Holy Writ, which his Church had granted him, to do away with what she had held to be the truly "reformed" and purified Christian lore'. But the sixteenth and seventeenth century theologians had a hand in shaping Milton's views.

The footnotes to the fourth section of this work, which contain quotations from *Paradise Lost* containing Milton's private heresies (in relation to the ideas of the *De Doctrina Christiana*) are correctly placed, for *Paradise Lost* should not be interpreted as another theological work; Milton took care to make it suit the general reader of the seventeenth century and yet conform to his own conscience.

It is unfortunate that this work should be marred by many stylistic faults and misprints. The system of italicising adopted seems quite unnecessary. The analysis of the *De Doctrina Christiana* provided enables a reader to look up any subject matter arising from a reference to the Treatise quickly, and the clear presentation of ancillary material is very useful.

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⁵ These authorities are all mentioned by Milton in his prose works.

Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century. By EARL R. WASSERMAN. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXII, nos. 2-3.) Pp. 291. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1947. \$ 2.50.

Mr Wasserman has written a learned and sensible book which appreciably contributes to our knowledge of eighteenth-century taste and scholarship. Sections on Elizabethan poetry read in the light of neoclassic critical standards and 'corrected' by eighteenth-century editors and anthologists lead on to detailed discussion of imitations of Elizabethan poetry and the change of taste in the latter part of the century. There is a useful bibliography of eighteenth-century Spenserian imitations and an appendix on the popularity of Elizabethan prose fiction in the eighteenth century.

One of the merits of a book like this which surveys the achievements of an age from a particular point of view is that new light is thrown on familiar subjects. Thus it is well known that Percy patched up the ballads printed in the *Reliques* and that with these longer narrative poems he intermingled 'little elegant pieces of the lyric kind'; but Mr Wasserman shows not merely that Percy's 'improvements' accorded with the prevailing manner of making early poetry palatable to neoclassic taste, but that the Elizabethan lyrics were printed 'unimproved' from good texts, and furthermore that there was nothing unusual in printing these lyrics at this time, for the great majority of those chosen by Percy had had wide popularity in contemporary song-books. Similarly Mr Wasserman is able to show Collins to us not as a lonely imitator of Shakespeare's songs, but as one of several adaptors who agree in using similar methods; and we see Thomas Warton, not as the founder of 'the historical method of scholarship or the historical point of view' but as 'a part of a movement that began in England when a practical method of scholarship was borrowed from editors of the classics for application to native products'.

But for all his learning and intelligence Mr Wasserman has evidently found difficulty in sharing the eighteenth-century point of view. He too frequently adopts the position of the Elizabethan devotee. Thus he seems to expect us to be surprised at Atterbury's confession that 'in a hundred places [of Shakespeare] I cannot construe him; I do not understand him', whereas most of us are still in Atterbury's position. And is there anything to wonder at in Langbaine's not having seen a copy of *England's Helicon*, or in Cowper's being unacquainted with Drummond's poetry, or in Spence's view that sixteenth-century poetry 'had never what cou'd be call'd a fair settled Daylight, till toward the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign'? These remarks would pass without much comment today. On the other hand Mr Wasserman is too little of the devotee of eighteenth-century poetry. It is true that he admits the charm of Horace Walpole's version of Wyatt's 'My lute, awake!'; but a critic must be insensitive whose comment on Pope's couplet

The Naiads wept in ev'ry wat'ry bow'r
And Jove consented in a silent show'r

is no more than 'the Spenserian atmosphere is quickly dissipated by an elaborate periphrasis for "rain"', and who supposes that when Thomson wrote of 'The infuriate hill that shoots the pillar'd flame' he 'meant "volcano"'. Undoubtedly there is much to deplore in the Elizabethanisms of the eighteenth century; but in spite of his intelligence, in spite even of a determination to sympathise, Mr Wasserman fails to assure us that he knows a good thing when he sees it. The student of eighteenth-century poetry may be irritated from time to time by Mr Wasserman's imperfect sympathies, but this must not deter him from reading a book which contains so much to teach him.

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Points of Modern English Syntax

IV

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XXX. No. 1, Febr. 1949.

11. There was a refreshing lack of unanimity. The answers received show three main lines of argument. It was stated that *apparatus* is a singular, because if for *can* we substitute *to be capable*, the verb is in the singular: *apparatus which is capable of solving*.. etc. The point is well made, but then the sg. verb may be due to the strong collective sense of the noun. Cf. *Thirty pounds is a high price, three months is a light sentence, the United States has the strongest navy*, etc.. where the sg. verbs do not prevent *pounds, months* and *States* being undoubted plurals. Others held that *apparatus* is a plural. They point to the absence of the classifying definite article, which would be consonant with the noun being a plural class noun. Thus *apparatus* could be changed into *machines* or *contrivances* without the addition of a definite article, but if it were replaced by a singular noun like *machine* the def. article would have to be added. The argument is ingenious, but not conclusive. It is true that *apparatus* could not be changed into a noun stem with an individual sense, but there is nothing to prevent us from substituting a noun stem with a collective meaning, such as *machinery*. Considerations like these no doubt prompted a correspondent to write that he thought the problem insoluble in the absence of any formal or other criteria to go by. My own opinion is the following. Morphologically *apparatus* is, of course, a stem; English has no inflectional forms in [əs]. There are no criteria to decide whether in the sentence quoted this noun stem is used as a singular collective (like *machinery, furniture, information*, etc.) or a plural collective (like *cattle, police*). The evidence is contradictory. We are hence impelled to the

conclusion that the word as used in this sentence is numerically neutral. All correspondents were agreed that the word has a strong collective sense. The individual plural would be expressed by *pieces of apparatus* or, more rarely, *apparatuses*. The NED. quotes an example of the latter form: *the many apparatuses designed to apply electricity*. It would seem that this plural stresses the diversity of the contrivances, just as in *cottons of good quality, Italian wines, Bombay silks, edible fishes, primitive man used to gather fruits, a man of great abilities*. We may also compare a parallel lexical difference between *relations* (collective; Dutch *familie*) and *relatives* (individual: Dutch *familieleden, bloed-verwanten*).

12. The fact that *sportsman* is applied to either sex proves that the noun cannot be looked upon as a compound of *sports* + *man*, but is a derivative formation. The last syllable, in other words, is a suffix. Its form [mən] is in harmony with this. The derivative character of the word is even more clearly marked than in nouns of the type *Englishman, bargeman, postman, nobleman, milkman, footman*, etc., where in spite of the vowel reduction in the last syllable, the connection of the word with persons of the male sex is still felt. *Sportsman* has evidently evolved a step further. We see here, under our contemporary noses, a development taking place, exactly similar to that which has taken place with the agent nouns in *-er* (*bearer, singer, sender*), partly also with those in *-ar* and *-or* (*liar, possessor, translator*). The nouns formed with these originally masculine suffixes are now indiscriminately applied to male and female persons. We may also compare the loss of meaning and consequent vowel reduction in the last element of words like *breakfast, boatswain, cupboard, raspberry, forecastle, forehead, vineyard*, which are only compounds in a historical sense.

What has been said of *sportsman* also applies to *foreman* and *chairman* 'person who presides over a meeting'. If a woman takes the chair at a meeting she is addressed as *Madam Chairman*. But the man who collects the pennies for the use of chairs in public parks is still called the [tʃɛəmæn].

The word *sportswoman*, of course, also exists. But I do not think it would be suitable in our sentence. To me the noun denotes a woman who is fond of field sports, perhaps also one with betting propensities, rather than one who likes and practises fair play in life.

What with women more and more encroaching upon the place hitherto held in society by men, it seems safe to prophesy an increase of the tendency exemplified by words like *sportsman, chairman, foreman*. Our Sheffield correspondent writes:

...when women come to take up an activity or fill an office formerly confined almost exclusively to men, the male connotation of the term tends to be forgotten, so that it is applied to both sexes alike. It is only in comparatively recent times that women have engaged in sport.

...the civic head of a city, even when a woman, as she sometimes is nowadays, is still known as the Lord Mayor. *Lady Mayoress* has quite a different meaning.

And our Czech friend remarks, rightly no doubt, 'I should not hesitate to say "She's (or would make) an excellent statesman"'.

13. It was generally agreed that *heathen* is a notional plural. Morphologically, again, the word is a noun stem. But in this case there is a formal indication that compels us to attribute a plural meaning to it: the absence of the definite article, and, of course, the use of *among*. The sense is clearly collective. But how to account for this use of the stem? A correspondent suggested that it is a case of partial conversion of an adjective into a noun, comparable to *the unbelieving*, *the unenlightened*. But this seems hard to reconcile with the existence of a *heathen* and *two heathens*. Wyld in his *Universal English Dict.* quotes *we don't want our children to grow up heathens*. Another suggestion was that Mrs. Love's use of the noun stem as a collective plural might be due to the Bible: *But (they) were mingled among the heathen* (Psalm 106.35), *God reigneth over the heathen* (Psalm 47.8); *use not vain repetitions as the heathen do* (Matt. 6.7), and *passim*. But, like all historical explanations, this only shifts the problem one stage back. For it immediately gives rise to the question, why should the Bible have this use? And, an even more formidable question, why should contemporary speakers of English adopt exactly this syntactic peculiarity of the Authorized Version, and why should other Jacobean usages occurring in the Bible not affect their daily speech habits? For although we may pray *Our Father which art in Heaven*, we surely do not say, **Our father, which lives in London, is coming to spend the week-end with us*. The answer must be that we only take over such elements of older syntactic systems as accord with our sense of living linguistic values. Apart from the case when a man is actually quoting the Scriptures, a reference to the Biblical usage, therefore, explains nothing. The solution is to be sought for in the syntax of present-day English.

The nearest analogon is the use of noun stems as collective plurals in the names of some primitive tribes: *The Massai are great hunters*, which suggests that it is hardly necessary to distinguish one individual of the tribe from another, probably because we do not want to enter into personal relations with any of them. We may also refer to the collective stems of names of animals: *to shoot duck and snipe, to hunt antelope, the quail are calling, a herd of zebra, plenty of pig in there, the green fly are awful this year*. etc. This use, of course, is also due to our lack of interest in the individuals of the species. It is this feeling of indifference, disdain, or contempt which, in my opinion, accounts for *heathen*. Our Sheffield correspondent voices this feeling as follows:

I think that perhaps the use of *heathen* rather than *heathens* has a depreciatory or slightly contemptuous ring. It suggests a certain sameness about them all, so that they can be lumped together. *Heathens* would individualise them and so suggest that there were differences, a fact which the speaker doubts.

14. The first *mankind* is [mæn'kaɪnd] 'the human species', the second is ['mæn,kaɪnd] 'the male part of humanity'. We may remind the reader of the existence of two other words which should not be confused with those under discussion: *menkind* and *womenkind* 'the male (respectively female) members of a household': *Like all married women she was always anxious to know what her menkind were up to.*

15. Our first concern must be to determine whether *cross-roads*, *head-quarters*, *surroundings*, are formal plurals. Phonological considerations compel us to answer in the affirmative: English has no noun stems ending in [dz] [əz] [ɪŋz].¹ How is it, then, that these formal plurals should be qualified by singular articles and pronouns? Evidently because their strong collective sense causes the ideas denoted by them to be taken as unities, uncompounded and indivisible wholes. The collective meaning makes the plurality originally suggested by their component parts, which is responsible for the plural form of the words, recede into the background. Our English correspondent remarks:

Headquarters seems to be used as frequently in the singular as in the plural, probably because it is (observe the singular pronoun and verb, E.) thought of as one establishment or centre of organization.

Observe the difference between a *cross-road* 'road that crosses another or joins two main roads' and a *cross-roads* 'intersection of two roads'. We are aware that a combination like *that surroundings* can hardly be looked upon as correct English. We should remember, however, that *Trader Horn* is a book written by an uneducated man. Now the solecisms of those who by a merciful dispensation of Providence have escaped the rectifying hand of the schoolmaster, are always interesting. The aetiology of grammatical mistakes is not rarely extremely enlightening, and we are eagerly looking forward to the first *Grammaire des Fautes* in English. Heterodoxy may be reprehensible, it is sometimes more interesting than orthodoxy. In the present case the singular *that* admirably expresses the writer's awareness of the collective meaning of *surroundings*. And let us not forget, what is wrong to-day, may be right to-morrow.

16. Plurality is occasionally used to suggest intensity (*thanks! it is a thousand pities, a prey to a thousand hopes and fears*) and extensiveness (*the Army and Navy Stores, the hospital gardens, the children are playing on the sands, the waters of the sea, the snows of the Antarctic*). *Rooms* in our quotation is an instance of the latter. The pretentiousness or grandiloquence need not be conscious, the form has probably become part of the conventional commercial jargon, as our English correspondent points out.

17. We cannot do better than subjoin the answer of our Sheffield correspondent.

¹ Apart from an occasional word of a technical or special character, such as *adze* or *topaz*.

Buildings is frequently treated as a singular when it denotes a single large block in which are situated a number of flats, offices etc. The same is true of *chambers*. Here in Sheffield we have Queen's Buildings (in Queen Street), Telegraph Buildings (in the same block as the offices of the local newspaper, the 'Sheffield Telegraph') and Campo Chambers (in Campo Lane), all of them blocks of offices occupied by various business firms. All are generally referred to in the singular. (Queens Buildings is in Queen Street, Telegraph Buildings is in High Street, Campo Chambers is in Campo Lane). The same is true of the headquarters of the Sheffield telephone system, Telephone Buildings, in West Street. *Works*, similarly, is treated as a singular. (*The works is a large one. He owns a small cutlery works.*)

Our Czech friend quotes another parallel case: 'Mansions for any "Court", i.e. block of flats, in England.'

18. Here, too, we beg leave to let our Sheffield correspondent speak for us.

We must distinguish two meanings of the word *fish*, viz. (1) the living creature, (2) its flesh, used for eating. If it is possible at all to say *fish is caught* (of which I am doubtful) I suggest that the speaker or writer would be thinking of the ultimate purpose for which the fish thus caught was intended, i.e. for food (meaning no. 1; cf. *a farm where beef is reared*). The two more likely alternatives are *fishes are caught*, *fish are caught*. In the former case, as with *heathens*, we are thinking of the fishes individually and perhaps of the different kinds and varieties; in the latter case, of the fish *en masse*, as they are hauled up in the nets. It is interesting to compare the way in which the translators of the Bible use the two forms.

Genesis, I, 26: 'And God said ... let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle' (*en masse* or collectively, as with *fowl* and *cattle*).

Genesis IX, 2: 'The fear of you and the dread of you shall be ... upon all the fishes of the sea.' (Each one individually would experience the fear or dread.) Similarly, in contrast with the collective *fowl* in the previous quotation, we have in the parable of the sower (Matt. XIII, 4.): 'Some seeds fell by the wayside and the fowls came and devoured them up', where the notion is that of a number of individual birds coming successively, or a few at a time, to peck up the seed.

The distinction, however, is not always clear even in the Bible, and in modern English it tends to become even more blurred. The tendency is to use *fish* in both senses, reserving *fishes* to denote different kinds.

So much for the commentary of our English contributor. I should like to add in support of his view that the character of the sentence quoted — the sea and 'all its choral harmonies' — makes it clear that the author is concerned with the aesthetic aspect of its denizens, not with their nutritional value. He was evidently thinking of their various shapes, colours, etc. rather than of their ultimate destination as food.

(To be continued.)

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

Brief Mention

A Commentary on the General Prologue to The Canterbury Tales. By MURIEL BOWDEN. ix + 316 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1948. \$4.00.

After two introductory sections, each of the pilgrims is dealt with in a separate chapter combining relevant comment with bibliographical data. The book is very readable, if here and there a little chatty, and will be useful to beginners as well as to advanced students, though occasionally a knotty point is ignored or rather summarily dealt with. The parallels from older and contemporary medieval literature are often very illuminating. *World* (for *word*) on p. 47, and *floralegium* on p. 68 are obvious misprints. — Z.

In answer to a question in the December number Mr. M. Hoogesteger (Gorcum) draws attention to *British Citizenship, its Rights and its Duties*, by Fredk. Peaker, M.A., revised and brought up to date by A. P. Peaker, M.C., M.A., 228 pp., London, Herbert Russell, 1932.

In *In Memoriam Victor Bohet* (Febr. nr., p. 16) the words *visiting lecturer* should be inserted before *in Nottingham University*.

Books Received¹

Abriss der altenglischen (angelsächsischen) Grammatik. Von E. SIEVERS. Elfte Auflage, neubearbeitet von K. BRUNNER. (Sammlung Kurzer Grammatiken. C. Abrisse. Nr. 2.) viii + 78 pp. Halle (Saale), Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1948. RM. 3.40.

The Later Genesis. Edited from MS. Junius 11 by B. J. TIMMER. 135 pp. Oxford: The Scrivener Press. 1948. 15s. net.

The Harley Lyrics. The Middle English Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253. Edited by G. L. BROOK. (Publications of the University of Manchester No. CCCII. English Series No. XXV.) x + 125 pp. Manchester University Press. 1948. 10/6 net.

The Verb 'To Be' in Middle English. A Survey of the Forms. By GÖSTA FORSSTRÖM. (Lund Studies in English XV.) 236 pp. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1948. Price 12 kr.

Sir Philip Sidney. Le Chevalier Poète Elizabéthain. Par M. POIRIER. (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille. Nouvelle Série—Droit et Lettres No. 26.) 321 pp. Bibliothèque Universitaire de Lille. 1948.

Titus Andronicus. Edited by J. DOVER WILSON. (The New Shakespeare.) lxxii + 173 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1948. Cloth 10s. 6d.

Rhetoric as a Dramatic Language in Ben Jonson. By A. H. SACKTON. viii + 182 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1948. 14s net.

Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices. By JOSEPH HALL, D.D. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by RUDOLF KIRK. xiii + 214 pp. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. 1948. \$5.00.

Jephthah and his Daughter. A Study in Comparative Literature. By W. O. SYPHERD. xiii + 277 pp. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware. 1948. Price \$3.00.

¹ The list will be completed in a following number.

The Primary Language of Poetry in the 1640's. By JOSEPHINE MILES. (University of California Publications in English, Volume 19, No. 1, pp. 1-160.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1948. Price \$2.50.

The Incomparable Aphra. By G. WOODCOCK. 248 pp. London & New York: T. V. Boardman and Company Limited. 1948. 12/6 net.

Dr. Johnson and the Law. By SIR ARNOLD MCNAIR. xi + 115 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1948. 7s. 6d.

A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry. By JAMES SUTHERLAND. vi + 175 pp. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1948. 12s. 6d. net.

English Blake. By BERNARD BLACKSTONE. xviii + 455 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1949. Price 25/- net.

Percy Bysshe Shelley als revolutionärer Dichter. Von GUSTAV KIRCHNER. 138 pp. Iserlohn, Westf.: Silva-Verlag. 1948.

New Shelley Letters. Edited by W. S. SCOTT. 170 pp. London: The Bodley Head. 1948. 10s. 6d.

The Letters of John Keats. Selected Passages. Edited with Notes by H. W. HÄUSERMANN. (Bibliotheca Anglicana, Vol. 10.) 120 pp. Bern: A. Francke AG. 1949. Sw. Fr. 5.80.

John Keats: The Principle of Beauty. By LORD GORELL. 126 pp. London: Sylvan Press, Ltd. 1948. 7/6 net.

Browning's Essay on Chatterton. Edited with Introductory Chapters and Notes by DONALD SMALLEY. xi + 194 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1948. \$3.50.

WALTER PATER, *Selected Works.* Arranged & with an introduction by RICHARD ALDINGTON. 557 pp. London: Heinemann. 1948. 21s. net.

Die Erlebte Rede im englischen Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts. Von LISA GLAUSER. (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 20. Band.) 155 pp. Bern: A. Francke A.G. 1949. Fr. 14.50.

Samuel Butler (1835—1902). By P. N. FURBANK. 113 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1948. 6s. net.

Essays presented to Charles Williams. With a Memoir by C. S. LEWIS. xiv + 145 pp. Oxford University Press. 1947. 12s. 6d. net.

English Institute Essays 1947. x + 202 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. \$2.50.

The True Concept of Literature. Eight Reprinted and Two Original Articles. By A. J. APP, Ph.D. Published by the Mission Press, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A. 1948. Price \$1.00.

Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia. Edited by FREDSON BOWES. 1948-1949, Volume I. 204 pp. Charlottesville, Virginia. \$3.50.

Universal Negation in English and Czech. By J. VACHEK. (Prague Studies in English, LI.) Czech text, 5-46. English Summary, 65-72. Prague, 1947.

In the same volume: I. Poldauf. Some Points on Negation in Colloquial English, 77-84.

K. TEN BRUGGENCATE—A. BROERS, *Engels Woordenboek.* Eerste Deel, Engels-Nederlands. 14de ... uitgave, bewerkt door P. J. H. O. SCHUT en Dr. R. W. ZANDVOORT. xii + 958 pp. Groningen-Batavia: J. B. Wolters' U. M. 1948. Fl. 7.00.

The Problem of *Pericles*

The relationship between Wilkins' novel, *The Painfull Aduentures of Pericles*, and the Shakespearean play is still a matter of controversy. Some critics imagine that the novel was based on the play; others think that the play was based on the novel; and Dugdale Sykes argued forcibly that Wilkins based a play on the novel he had himself written, and that the last three acts of this play were afterwards revised by Shakespeare. I do not hope to solve all the problems connected with *Pericles*, but I believe it can be shown that all the three solutions I have outlined are wrong.

(I) *Wilkins' use of Twine*

Whatever the relationship between Wilkins' novel and the play it can easily be shown that the former was greatly indebted to Laurence Twine's *Patterne of Painefull Aduentures*. The exact extent of his borrowings has not, I believe, been examined. In his first chapter, describing the seduction by Antiochus of his daughter, Wilkins follows Twine very closely in his phrasing. The following passage differs from Twine in one word alone:

the goodly Cittie of *Antioch* [Antiochia-T] in *Syria*, and called it after his owne name, as the chiefest seate of all his Dominions, and principall place of his abode.

The next passage is also very similar in both novels:

throwing {and threwe-T} away all regard of his owne honesty, hee (and-T) vnloosed the knotte of her virginitie, and so left this weeping braunch to wyther by the stocke that brought her forth.

The italicised words were added by Wilkins, and they are typical of the additions he made to his original.

In his second chapter Wilkins has far fewer verbal echoes — there are hardly any after the opening lines — and he introduces a dialogue between *Pericles* and *Helycanus* which is completely absent from Twine. In Twine's novel, *Apollonius* leaves *Tyre* secretly; in Wilkins', he does so on the advice of *Helycanus*. In the third chapter there are also considerable divergences. Wilkins omits the conversation between *Apollonius* and *Elinatus*, in which he is informed of the price on his head. On the other hand Wilkins borrows a number of details from Twine (e.g. "a hundred thousand bushells of wheate... for euery bushell eight peeces of brasse") though the only sustained borrowing in this chapter is the account of the statue:

they erected in the Market place a monument in the memoriall of him, and made his statue [stature made-T] of brasse, standing in a Chariot, holding corne in his right hand, and spurning it with his left foote, and on the bases [baser foot-T] of the pillar whereon it stode, was ingrauen in great Letters this inscription: *Pericles* [superscription: Apollonius] *Prince of Tyre* [Tirus] *gaue a gift vnto the City of Tharsus, whereby he deliuered it from cruell* [a cruel] *death.*

In Chapter 4 there is only one substantial borrowing, in the description of the storm:

there might you haue heard the windes whistling, the raine dashing, the sea roaring, the cables cracking, the tacklings breaking, the ship tearing, the men miserably crying out to saue their liues [miserable shouting out for their liues-T]: there might you haue seene the sea searching the ship, the boordes fleeting, the goodes swimming, the treasure sincking, and the poore soules [sincking, the men-T] shifting to saue themselues, but all in vaine, for partly by the [themselues, where partly through-T] violence of the tempest, and partely thorow that dismall darkenesse [through darcknes of the night-T], which vnfortunately [then-T] was come vpon them, they were all drowned, gentle *Pericles* only excepted [onely Apollonius excepted-T]

Pericles meets several fishermen, Apollonius only one; Pericles recovers his armour from the sea and wins a tournament, Apollonius wins only a game of tennis.

Wilkins' fifth chapter corresponds to II. iv of the play, and there is nothing like it in Twine. His sixth chapter, dealing with the marriage of Pericles and Thaysa, corresponds to three of Twine's chapters, and there are many differences of detail. Apollonius, for example, acts as Lucina's music-teacher, while Symonides only pretends that his daughter wishes to have Pericles as a teacher. Wilkins, however, went to his predecessor for an account of the wedding festivities:

The [I may not-T] discourse at large of the liberal Chalenges made and proclaimed, at Tilt, Barriers, running at the Ring, *ioco di can*, mannaging fierce horses running on [a-T] foote, and dauncing in armours, [armour-T] of the stately presented Playes [And at night of the gorgeous plaies-T], Shewes disguised, Speeches, Maskes and Mummeries, with continuall harmony of all kindes of Musicke, with [and-T] banquetting in all delicacie, I [All these things I-T] leaue to the consideration of them who haue behelde [which haue seene-T] the like in Courtes [the Courts-T], and at the wedding [weddings-T] of princes, rather than afford them to the description of my penne [where they haue seene more than my simple pen is able to describe-T]

The seventh chapter describes the burial of Thaysa and her restoration by Cerimon. In both novels, but not in the play, the hero calls the sailor a 'varlet', when he is told that the body of his wife must be thrown overboard; and there are several verbal parallels at this point¹. In Twine's novel

¹ e.g. "wouldest thou haue me cast that body into the sea for buriall, who being in misery receiued me into fauour?"-W. "wouldest thou haue me cast that body into the sea, which receiued me into house and fauour, when I was in miserie..."-T.

Cerimon is a professional physician; in Wilkins, as in Shakespeare, he is a Lord and only an amateur healer. In Twine a scholar tells Cerimon that Lucina is still alive; in Wilkins Cerimon himself notices that Thaysa is living. In the next two chapters Wilkins describes how Pericles leaves Marina at Tharsus, how Lycorida, on her death-bed, informs the girl of her parentage, and how she is rescued from imminent murder by the pirates. Stranguilio protests about the supposed murder of the girl before the people are informed of her death; but Wilkins' corresponding character, Cleon, protests after the people have been told and her monument has been erected. In these two chapters there are few verbal echoes.²

Wilkins' tenth chapter describes Marina in the brothel, and he differs from Twine on many points of detail. Athanagoras (T) arrives at the brothel early in the hope of being "the first man that shall come vnto her", while Lysimachus (W) apparently wishes to make Marina his mistress. Tharsia tells Athanagoras the story of her life and she mentions her father's name; Marina, like Shakespeare's, does not tell her parentage.³ The last chapter of Wilkins corresponds roughly to ten chapters of Twine (XV-XXIV). He borrows Marina's song with only a few trifling alterations, and also part of the speech she makes just before she is recognized:

And O you Gods! creators both of heauen and earth, looke vppon my afflictions, and take compassion vppon me, that am vnfortunate in all things, I haue bin tossed from wrong to iniurie, I was borne amongst the waues and troublesome tempests of the Sea, my mother died in paines and pangs of child-birth, and buriall was denyed her on the earth, whome my father adorned with Jewelles layd golde at her head, and siluer at her feete, and inclosing her in a Chest, committed her to the Sea: As for me vnfortunate wretch, my father, who with princely furniture, put me (in trust) to Cleon and Dyonyssa, who commanded a seruant of theirs to murder me.

The italicised words are borrowed from Twine, though Wilkins omits some of Twine's details from the speech. The only other noteworthy parallel occurs in Pericles' speech in the temple of Diana and in Thaysa's words on the same occasion. The latter is particularly interesting because Wilkins, in echoing Twine, blundered:

"O my Lord Pericles [Apollonius-T], deale not [why deal you thus-T] vnghently with me... you were [are-T] my Schoolemaister, and instructed [which taught-T] me in [om.-T] musicke.... not for concupiscence [concupiscence sake-T] but desire [for desire-T] of wisdome."

² Both novels have the following phrases: "till he had married his daughter at ripe yeares"; "she was set to Schoole with other free children"; "caused her body to be solempnely interred [buried not farre of-T] in a field without the walles of the Cittie"; "mourning attire"; "the Liberall Sciences"; and "that Mayden is our prey, and not thy victory."

³ The only noticeable parallel is in the last sentence: "and rewarded the villaine very liberally for the [his-T] diligent care hee had ouer [care ouer-T] her."

Unfortunately Pericles had not acted as Thaysa's schoolmaster, as Apollonius had done for Lucina.

From this summary it can be seen that Wilkins relies most obviously on Twine in the opening chapter (which describes events *before the beginning of the play*), in the description of the statue (*barely referred to in the play*), in the description of the storm (*described in the play by Gower in two couplets*), in the description of the wedding (*not described at all in the play*), and in Marina's speech to Pericles. All these passages, therefore, except the last, are absent from the play. From this it would seem to be certain that Wilkins followed a play when he could and fell back on Twine where the play was deficient. This conclusion is supported by the title page of the novel, which is described as "The true History of the Play of *Pericles*, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient Poet *John Gower*"; by the concluding sentence of the argument,

"Onely intreating the Reader to receiue this Historie in the same maner as it was vnder the habite of ancient *Gower* the famous English Poet, by the Kings Maiesties Players excellently presented";

and by the fact that Gower is mentioned in the summary at the head of the first chapter. Now these references, it might be argued, could have been inserted in order to sell a novel which had been written quite independently of the play. But a careful examination of the novel leads one to the same conclusion. In the third chapter, for example, the famine at Tharsus is described by Cleon in conversation with Dyonyssa, though she knows as much about it as he does. This is absurd and unnecessary in a novel, absurd but not infrequent in a play. Another example is afforded by Chapter 5, which describes how Helicanus heard the news of Antiochus's death and informed "his graue and familiar friend, Lord *Eschines*" about the incestuous relations of Antiochus with his daughter. Eschines is dragged in, quite pointlessly, for only half a sentence; but in the play he is a necessary confidant for Helicanus (II. iv). These two examples alone quite disprove the theory of Dugdale Sykes that Wilkins based the play of *Pericles* on his own novel. There can be no doubt that Wilkins based his novel on a play, though not necessarily on the extant play.

(II) *The Play and the Novel*

The resemblances between *The Painfull Aduentures of Pericles* — Wilkins' novel — and the play are so many that we must assume either that one was based on the other, or that there was a common original, apart from Twine's novel. I have already shown that Wilkins based his novel on a play. If that play was the Shakespearean *Pericles*, it in turn must have been based on an *Ur-Pericles*, or on Twine and Gower. If, on the other hand, Wilkins based his novel on an *Ur-Pericles*, *Pericles* itself may be based on Wilkins' novel, on the *Ur-Pericles*, or on both.

If Wilkins based his novel on the Shakespearean *Pericles*, we must

conclude that those passages in the novel which are neither in Twine's novel nor in *Pericles* were *either* (a) omitted by accident from the printed text of the play and preserved by Wilkins — in which case we might suppose that he had access to the playhouse copy, or else that he relied on a shorthand transcript taken down in the theatre; or (b) the invention of Wilkins. Now (b) is unlikely, because many passages peculiar to Wilkins seem to be based on blank verse. Although we may agree with Mr. John Munro that the prose of *Three Miseries of Barbary* "falls easily into verse-form with little or no adjustment"⁴ — I think myself that this statement is an exaggeration — there are blank verse fossils in *The Painfull Adventures* so unmistakable that we are driven to conclude that the verse has been carelessly 'transposed'. Here are two examples:

a stragling Theseus borne we knowe not where...
 But daughter...
 equalles to equalls, good to good is ioyned,
 this not being so, the bauine of your minde
 in rashnesse kindled, must againe be quenched,
 or purchase our displeasure. And for you sir,
 first learne to know, I banish you my Court,
 and yet scorning that our kingly iragement (*)
 should stoope so lowe, for that your ambition sir,
 Ile haue your life.

There is no passage corresponding to this in the play; and yet, apart from one unmetrical line which could easily be amended, (*) the speech is tolerably good verse, far more regular than the passages Mr. Munro quotes from *Three Miseries of Barbary*.

The brothel scene in the play is obviously much curtailed, and in the novel there are a number of eloquent speeches, not far removed from blank verse:

Then gentle Sir, quoth shee, since heauen hath beene so gracious, to restore me from death, let not their good to me, be a meanes for you, to be author of my more misfortune. But the Gouvernour suspecting these teares, but to be some new cunning, which her matron the Bawde had instructed her in, to drawe him to a more large expence: He as freely tolde her so, and now beganne to be more rough with her, vrging her, that he was the Gouvernour, whose authoritie coulde wincke at those blemishes, her selfe, and that sinnefull house could cast vpon her, or his displeasure punish at his owne pleasure, which displeasure of mine, thy beauty shall not priuiledge thee from, nor my affection, which hath drawn me vnto this place abate, if thou with further lingering withstand me.

Marina replies:

If as you say (my Lorde) you are the Gouvernour, let not your authoritie, which should teach you to rule others, be the meanes to make you misgouerne your selfe: If the eminence of your place came vnto you by discetn,

⁴ T.L.S. 11 Oct. 1947.

and the royalty of your blood, let not your life prooue your birth a bastard: If it were throwne vpon you by opinion, make good, that opinion was the cause to make you great. What reason is there in your Iustice, who hath power ouer all, to vndoe any? If you take from mee mine honour, you are like him, that makes a gappe into forbidden ground, after whome too many enter, and you are guiltie of all their euilles: my life is yet vnspotted, my chastitie vnstained in thought. Then if your violence deface this building, the workmanship of heauen, made vp for good, and not to be the exercise of sinnes intemperaunce, you do kill your owne honour, abuse your owne iustice, and impouerish me. Why quoth *Lysimachus*, this house wherein thou liuest, is euen the receptacle of all mens sinnes, and nurse of wickednesse, and how canst thou then be otherwise then naught, that liuest in it? It is not good, answered *Marina*, when you that are the Gouvernour, who should liue well, the better to be bolde to punish euill, doe knowe that there is such a rooffe, and yet come vnder it. Is there a necessitie (my yet good Lord) if there be fire before me, that I must strait then thither flie and burne my selfe? Or if suppose this house, (which too too many feeble such houses are) should be the Doctors patrimony, and Surgeons feeding; folowes it therefore, that I must needs infect my self to giue them maintenance? O my good Lord, kill mee, but not deflower me, punish me how you please, so you spare my chastitie, and since it is all the dowry that both the Gods haue giuen, and men haue left to me, do not you take it from me; make me your seruant, I will willingly obey you; make me your bondwoman, I will accompt it freedome; let me be the worst that is called vile, so I may still liue honest, I am content: or if you thinke it is too blessed a happinesse to haue me so, let me euen now, now in this minute die, and Ile accompt my death more happy than my birth.

Lysimachus replies:

Now surely this is Vertues image, or rather, Vertues selfe, sent downe from heauen, a while to raigne on earth, to teach vs what we should be . . . Lady, for such your vertues are, a farre more worthy stile your beuty challenges, and no way lesse your beauty can promise me that you are, I hither came with thoughtes intemperate, foule and deformed, the which your paines so well hath laued, that they are now white, continue still to all so, and for my parte, who hither came but to haue payd the price, a peece of golde for your virginittie, now giue you twenty to releuee your honesty. It shall become you still to be euen as you are, a peece of goodnesse, the best wrought vppe, that euer Nature made, and if that any shall inforce you ill, if you but send to me, I am your friend.

There are several reasons for believing that these speeches were originally in verse. In the first place, there are a number of lines which can be extracted from the prose without alteration, and the whole scene could be converted into verse with extraordinarily little change. In the following passage I have only contracted 'it is' and 'I am' and omitted 'is' (line 8):

Spare

My chastitie, and since it's all the dowry
That both the Gods haue giuen, and men naue left to me,
Do not you take it from me. Make me your seruant,
I will willingly obey you; make mee your bondwoman,
I will accompt it freedome; let me be

The worst that is called vile, so I may still
 Liue honest, I'm content: or if you think it
 Too blessed a happinesse to haue me so,
 Let me euen now, now in this minute die,
 And Ile accompt my death more happy than
 My birth.

This appears to me to be natural blank verse and it makes an obvious contrast with the passage quoted by Mr. John Munro from *Three Miseries*, which can only be read as verse by ignoring the natural accents:

At length bowing to the earth, she fell
 At the Kings feete and with a pretty smile
 Beganne to tell a tale of the Larke and the Crow: —
 The shutting vppe of her mortall being, —
 That the Larke was the Bird of the morning,
 And of the Day, and therefore might be bold,
 To challenge the mornings due, and all Kytes
 Of the day; But the Crow
 Was the Bird of the night and had nothing
 To do with the morning.

The second reason for believing that these speeches were originally in verse is the fact that in the following passage Lysimachus drops suddenly from indirect into direct speech, because Wilkins carelessly neglected to alter his pronouns:

or his displeasure punish at his owne pleasure, which displeasure of *mine*, *thy*
beauty shall not priuiledge thee from, nor my affection, which hath drawen
me vnto this place abate, if thou with further lingering withstand me.

Thirdly, there are two passages which contain repetitions of a word, for no apparent reason except to complete the line:

which too too many feele such houses are....
 let me euen now, now in this minute die....

It will surely be agreed that the Wilkins speeches *must* have been written originally as verse, and there is therefore no reason to think that they were written for the novel. This again disproves Sykes' theory that Wilkins based his play on his own novel. If therefore the novel was based on the Shakespearean *Pericles* we are driven back on the alternative explanation — that such speeches were omitted accidentally from an admittedly corrupt quarto and preserved somehow or other by Wilkins.

To judge the possibility of this explanation it will be necessary to detail the passages in the brothel scenes which appear both in the novel and in *Pericles*:

1. she had fortunes comming vpon her (p. 63)
 you haue Fortunes comming vppon you (IV. ii. 126)
2. a man that was honourable (p. 63)
 an honourable man (IV. vi. 54)

3. Heauen graunt that I may finde him so (p. 63)
I desire to finde him so (IV. vi. 55)
4. a man thou arte shortly to deale withall (p. 63)
Haue you that a man may deale withall (IV. vi. 27)
5. full of golde, will most Ioue-like rayne it downe into his *Danaes* lap (p. 64).
he will lyne your apron with gold (IV. vi. 64)
6. whose authoritie could wincke at those blemishes, her selfe, and that sinnefull house could cast vppon her (p. 65)
my authoritie shall not see thee, or else looke friendly vpon thee (IV. vi. 96)
7. if the eminence of your place came vnto you by discent (p. 65)
if you were borne to honour (IV. vi. 99)
8. If it were throwne vpon you by opinion, make good, that opinion was the cause to make you great (p. 65)
if put vpon you, make the iudgement good, that thought you worthie of it (IV. vi. 100)
9. It is not good ... when you that are the Gouvernour, who should liue well, the better to be bolde to punish euill, doe knowe that there is such a rooffe, and yet come vnder it (p. 66)
Doe you know this house to be a place of such resort, and will come intoo't (IV. vi. 86)
10. a peece of goodnesse, the best wrought vppe, that euer Nature made (p. 67)
a peece of vertue, and I doubt not but thy training hath bene noble (IV. vi. 118)
11. thou hast a house heere, the weight of whose sinne would sincke the foundation, euen vnto hell, did not the vertue of one that lodged therein, keepe it standing (p. 67)
Your house but for this virgin that doeth prop it, would sincke and ouerwhelme you (IV. vi. 128)
12. he that had bargained for the whole ioynt, it was fittest for him to cut a morsell from off the spit. (p. 68)
if I haue bargained for the ioynt.
Thou maist cut a morsell off the spit. (IV. ii. 142)
13. she demaunded of him what thing he could wish himselfe to be, which was more vile than he was, or more hatefull than he would make himselfe to be? Why, my master or my mistris (quoth the villaine). (p. 68)
What canst thou wish thine enemie to be?
Why, I could wish him to bee my master, or rather my mistris (IV. vi. 168)

Of these thirteen parallels three (i.e. 2, 3, 13) are substantially the same in novel and play. Three passages (i.e. 1, 4, 12) are similar in content and phrasing in both works, but they appear in different contexts⁵. The remaining seven passages are more elaborate in the novel than in the play. As the dialogue of the play is jerky, a mingling of prose and verse with many short and irregular lines, it reads as though it had been condensed. On the other hand, the dialogue in the novel runs smoothly and naturally,

⁵ With no. 1 the words are said in the novel in direct reference to Lysimachus; in the play they are said before we have heard of the existence of Lysimachus. The words in No. 4 are spoken by the bawd to Marina in the novel, and by Lysimachus to the bawd in the play. With no. 12 the words in the novel are spoken after Marina has repulsed her clients; in the play they are spoken in an earlier scene.

although none of the lines of verse fossils correspond to lines of verse in the play. If Wilkins in his verse fossils were merely reproducing lines which had been accidentally omitted by the quarto, it is curious that the reporter was so much less accurate in reproducing a popular brothel scene than he was in reproducing the scene of the reunion of Pericles and Marina. Since some of the verse in the brothel scene is respectable, but nowhere corresponds to the fossil verse in the novel, we must surely assume that the novel was not derived from the Shakespearean *Pericles*, but from its source, which we have called the *Ur-Pericles*. This, I believe, is the only theory that fits the facts.

It is a theory which is supported by a consideration of some differences between the novel and *Pericles*. In the brothel scene in the novel, Lysimachus assumes that Marina's pleading is a trick to squeeze more money out of him; and he urges her

that he was the Gouvernour, whose authoritie could wincke at those blemishes, her selfe, and that sinnefull house could cast vpon her, or his displeasure punish at his owne pleasure.

In the play, however, as soon as Marina appeals to Lysimachus he desists from his wooing. It would seem that the novel preserves a more primitive form of the story than the play. If Wilkins were following the Shakespearean *Pericles*, he would have been singularly foolish if he had made Lysimachus thus threaten Marina, especially as there is no trace of the threat in the still more primitive Twine. On the other hand it would have been natural for Shakespeare, working on the *Ur-Pericles*, to tone down the brutality, so as to make Lysimachus a less intolerable husband for the pure Marina.⁶ A similar difference between novel and play is that in the former Lysimachus confesses that he came to the brothel with "thoughtes intemperate, foule and deformed"; but in the latter he tells Marina —

Had I brought hither a corrupted minde,
thy speeche had altered it.

A few moments later he protests his innocence —

For me be you thoughten, that I came with no ill intent.

By thus whitewashing Lysimachus' character, Shakespeare leaves us confused about his motives for visiting the brothel at all. Is the Governor a playwright in search of local colour? Or are we meant to assume that like the Duke in *Measure for Measure* or the hero of Middleton's *Phoenix*, he is investigating the underworld of the city? He is not, like them,

⁶ Lysimachus' suspicion that Marina's innocence is a pose has perhaps left a trace in the dialogue of the play, where the Bawd advises Marina 'to weepe that you lieu as yee doe, makes pittie in your Louers; seldome but that pittie begets you a good opinion, and that opinion a meere profite.'

effectively disguised. Perhaps Shakespeare merely introduced this disclaimer to make Lysimachus into a presentable bridegroom; and members of the audience who thought that the bawdy Lysimachus of the earlier part of the scene was incompatible with the virtuous character of the conclusion could assume that in the later speeches he was lying out of a sense of shame.

In the following scene, where Marina is reunited to her father, there is another example of the difference of tone between Wilkins and the author of *Pericles*. Pericles in the novel strikes Marina on the face and she swoons. In the play he pushes his daughter back, the incident being twice referred to —

I sed my Lord, if you did know my parentage,
you would not do me violence.⁷

Didst thou not say when I did push thee backe,
which was, when I perceiu'd thee...

In Twine's novel Apollonius kicks Tharsia on the face. Wilkins, and doubtless the *Ur-Pericles*, are midway between the crudity of Twine and the comparative refinement of Shakespeare. We are forced to conclude once more that Wilkins based his novel not on *Pericles*, but on the *Ur-Pericles*.

The numerous verbal parallels between *Pericles* and the novel can mostly be explained on the assumption that Shakespeare himself retained parts of the *Ur-Pericles*, virtually unchanged, in his play. A few passages in the play, for example, corrupt in the quarto, can be emended by reference to the novel.⁸ We may assume that Wilkins derived all these readings from the *Ur-Pericles*; and we may likewise assume that passages in Acts III-V of *Pericles*, such as the ones quoted above from the Brothel scene, were retained by Shakespeare from the source play. The same thing may be said of the following parallels, to which Sykes drew attention:

⁷ Sykes thinks that these lines were in the original play by Wilkins, and that Shakespeare inadvertently omitted to delete the lines when he left out the "repulsive episode" of Pericles striking Marina. But Shakespeare is not likely to have been guilty of such inadvertance in one of his most beautiful scenes. These lines contain one of the few verbal echoes from Gower:

"mi lorde, I am a Maide
And if ye wiste what I am
And out of what lignage I cam
Ye wolde not be so salvage."

⁸ The words "who not yet too sauers younger" (I. iv. 39) should be "who not yet two summers younger"; "Sau'd one of all" (II. *Prol.* 22) should be "Sends word of all"; and "All vnsistered shall this heyre of mine remayne" (III. iii. 20) should read "All vnsisserd, etc." The last of these emendations would be obvious without the confirmation of the novel, and it is the only one in the Shakespearean part of the play. One misprint is common to play and novel: in the Spanish motto (II. ii. 27) the word 'Piu' appears as 'Pue'. All these are listed by Lee in his introduction to the facsimile of the quarto.

She was too good for men and therefore he would send her to the gods (pp. 56-7)
Leon. I will doo't, but yet she is a goodly creature.

Dion. The fitter then the Gods should haue her. (IV. i. 9-10)

that so fortunately had brought her to beget life in the father who begot her
 (p. 77)

thou that begetst him that did thee beget (V. i. 194)

But there are other parallels which are more difficult to explain. The following are the most significant:

1. In the recognition scene Marina uses words, in the novel, which were mostly borrowed from Twine, though one sentence appears not in Twine but in the play —

O you Gods! creators both of heauen and earth, looke vppon my afflictions, and take compassion vppon me, that am vnfortunate in all things, *I haue bin tossed from wrong to iniurie*, I was borne amongst the waues and troublesome tempests of the Sea — W.

O immortall God, which madest heauen and earth, looke vppon my afflictions, and take compassion vppon me, that am vnfortunate in all things, *I haue bin some tempests of the sea.* — T.

I think thou saidst thou hadst beene tost from wrong to iniurie — S.

In the play Marina's words are quoted by Pericles, though she has not actually used these words at all. It is possible that in the *Ur-Pericles* she did, and that Wilkins borrowed them from there. On the other hand the sentence interrupts the flow of the passage Wilkins borrowed from Twine, and I think that it is likely to be an interpolation by Wilkins.

2. Pericles addresses the newly-born Marina in these words —

Poore inch of Nature (quoth he) thou arte as rudely welcome to the worlde, as euer Princesse Babe was, and hast as chiding a natiuitie, as fire, ayre, earth, and water can afford thee. (p. 44)

The corresponding words of the play are —

Now mylde may be thy life,
 For a more blusterous birth had neuer Babe :
 Quiet and gentle thy conditions; for
 Thou art the rudelyest welcome to the world,
 That euer was Princes Child: happy what followes,
 Thou hast as chiding a natiuitie,
 As Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth, and Heauen can make,
 To harould thee from the wombe:
 Euen at the first, thy losse is more then can
 Thy portage quit, with all thou canst find heere :
 Now the good Gods throw their best eyes vpon't.

The phrase, apparently Shakespearean, "Poore inch of Nature", could be inserted at the end of the first line or, as Sir Edmund Chambers suggests,

at the end of the eighth. Sykes thinks Wilkins wrote the phrase. In any case if it was in the *Ur-Pericles*, Shakespeare would not have omitted it intentionally, when he borrowed so much in the same speech.

3. In Wilkins' account of the restoration of Thaisa by Cerimon appears another significant parallel —

hee perceiued warmth more and more to encrease in her, and the golden fringes of her eyes a little to part.... lifting vp those now again pricelesse diamonds of her eyes... (pp. 48-9)

Shakespeare's version is as follows —

behold
Her eyelids, cases to those heavenly iewels
Which *Pericles* hath lost,
Begin to part their fringes of bright gold,
The Diamonds of a most prayesd water doth appeare
To make the world twice rich.

On the one hand we may agree with Chambers that "those now againe" can only be a clumsy rendering of "To make the world twice rich"; on the other hand it is perfectly true that Wilkins was fond of borrowing from the *Arcadia*, from which this conceit is taken:

Her fair lids then hiding her fairer eyes, seemed unto him sweet boxes of mother of pearl, rich in themselves but containing in them far richer jewels. (III)

But it should be noted that in the novel the mention of the golden fringes is separated by 17 lines from the mention of the priceless diamonds: Sidney's conceit is therefore lost. In the play the conceit is actually improved, by the substitution of *lashes* for *lids*. It may also be mentioned that the jewel imagery is integral to the Shakespearean *Pericles*, and that Shakespeare later refers to the "fringed curtains" of Miranda's eyes and in *King Lear* and *The Winter's Tale* he refers to the eyelids as *cases*. Sykes assumes that the image later in the play, which also resembles Sidney's, is Wilkins' —

her eyes as Iewell-like,
and caste as richly... (V, i. 109-10).

I think this is certainly Shakespeare's, and that the other image, though it may be based on a hint in the *Ur-Pericles*, is substantially Shakespeare's. He, as well as Wilkins, was familiar with Sidney's *Arcadia*.

These three echoes from the Shakespearean part of *Pericles* might conceivably be echoes from lines of the *Ur-Pericles* retained by Shakespeare; but the awkwardness of the position in the novel of the first passage, the Shakespearean flavour of "Poore inch of Nature", and the fact that the third passage reads like a paraphrase of lines not fully grasped or remembered incline me to think that Wilkins' novel has been 'contaminated' by two or three passages from the Shakespearean *Pericles*. As Wilkins

had written *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* for Shakespeare's company, as he refers cordially to the excellent performance of *Pericles*, and as he is the favourite candidate for the authorship of the *Ur-Pericles* he might have seen the playhouse copy of the revised play; but it seems to me more probable that he, or the printer, inserted a few striking phrases, not quite in the right places, in the manuscript or the proofs of the novel, after seeing a performance of the Shakespearean play.⁸

(III) *The Authorship of the Ur-Pericles*

I can see no signs in the dedication of *The Painfull Adventures* that Wilkins, as Munro suggests⁹, "printed his novel with a sense of grievance". The basis of this suggestion is the following passage from the dedication:

I see Sir, that a good coate with rich trappings gets a gay Asse entraunce in a great Gate (and within a may stalke freely) when a ragged philosopher with more witte shall be shutte foorth of doores: notwithstanding this I know Sir, that Vertue wants no bases to vpholde her, but her owne kinne.

Munro rejects Mommsen's theory that Wilkins was himself the ragged philosopher, and remarks that the passage looks like a "general grumble" — perhaps because his play had been handed to Shakespeare for revision. But the passage about the gay ass is not specific (like Greene's attack on the upstart crow); it is merely the sort of sentiment in which flatterers of patrons naturally indulge: it implies that Henry Fermor has the wit to distinguish between a gay ass and a ragged philosopher, between a fashionable author and a good writer like Wilkins himself.

Nevertheless there is good reason to believe that Wilkins was the author of the *Ur-Pericles*. Sykes, *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, pp. 143-203, though some of his arguments are weak, makes a strong case for Wilkins' authorship. They may be summarised as follows: —

1. Sykes follows Boyle in showing that Wilkins frequently omitted the relative pronoun in the nominative case, and that this is a characteristic of the first two acts of *Pericles*.

2. Sykes follows Delius in pointing out that Wilkins has an immoderate use of verbal antithesis, especially in rhyming couplets. This argument seems to me to be much weaker than the first.¹⁰

⁸ As the names of the characters in Wilkins' novel and the Shakespearean play differ from those in every other version of the story, and as Marian seems to belong to the same class of names as Miranda and Perdita, it is possible that Wilkins derived his nomenclature from Shakespeare.

⁹ T.L.S. 11 Oct. 1947.

¹⁰ The use of antithesis in *Macbeth* is more noticeable than in the first two acts of *Pericles*. The antithesis between body and soul to be found in *Pericles* (I. ii. 32) and in *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* is too trite to be significant. The same must be said of the following antitheses — hands/eyes, life/death, tongue/head, hearts/eyes, true/false, darkness/light, grief/joy — all of which can be found in Shakespeare's acknowledged work.

3. The repetition of a word within a line is characteristic of Wilkins, and is to be found several times in the first two acts of *Pericles*; but it is also common in Shakespeare's plays.

4. Wilkins rhymes *life* with *wife* five times in *The Miseries* and twice in the first two acts of *Pericles*; *will* with *ill*, five times in *The Miseries* and three times in *Pericles*, I, II. This seems to me to be without significance.

5. Sykes points out a number of parallels between the first two acts of *Pericles* and acknowledged works of Wilkins. The most striking are the references to the myth that vipers devour their mother in the riddle in *Pericles* and in *The Miseries*, the image in the second scene —

but as the tops of trees,
Which fence the rootes they grow by and defend them ...

which resembles a passage in *The Miseries* (p. 480) —

Men must be like the branch and bark to trees
Which doth defend them from tempestuous rage.

and a close parallel between the account of the famine at Tharsus in I. iv and a description in *The Three Miseries of Barbary*. The closest parallel is between *Pericles* and *Law Tricks*, but it is not certain that Wilkins collaborated in *Law Tricks*. All these parallels might be explained by the theory that the author of the *Ur-Pericles* was imitating Wilkins; but as Wilkins is known to have written the novel and also to have written plays for Shakespeare's company it is easier to assume that he wrote the *Ur-Pericles*.

6. There are two echoes of Sidney's *Arcadia* in the first two acts of *Pericles* and two in the novel, one being common to both. Wilkins was fond of imitating the *Arcadia*, but he was not alone in that.

7. Sykes argues that Wilkins would not have called the novel his 'infant' if the story had been lifted bodily from the play; but he might have done if the novel was based not on the Shakespearean *Pericles*, but on his own *Ur-Pericles*.

8. When Sykes turns to the Shakespearean acts of the play, he postulates that verbal parallels between play and novel indicate survivals of the original Wilkins dialogue. With the exceptions mentioned in the last section of this essay, I agree; but most of the parallels offered by Sykes himself are not very convincing.¹¹

Some of these arguments do not amount to much, but nos. 1, 5, and 7 together convince me that Wilkins was the author of the *Ur-Pericles*. But,

¹¹ *Commodity* and *profession* are both used in the 'brothel' scenes in *Measure for Measure* and *stuff* is used in *Cymbeline* (I. vi. 125) in the same sense, as 'diseased prostitute'. Nothing, therefore, can be deduced from the fact that Wilkins elsewhere uses the same words.

as I have shown, the novel was based on the *Ur-Pericles*, and not *vice versa*, as Sykes supposes.¹²

The nature of the *Ur-Pericles* can be deduced from a study of the novel and the first two acts of the play, where Shakespeare's revision must have been perfunctory or non-existent. The verse of these acts is mostly rather wooden, and there is a high proportion of rhyme at irregular intervals -- as in *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*. There are some passages of astonishing feebleness and some flashes of fine poetry. Some of the feebler passages read as though there had been bad cuts, as *e.g.* --

He hath found the meaning,
For which we meane to haue his head:
He must not lue to trumpet foorth my infamie,
Nor tell the world *Antiochus* doth sinne
In such a loathed manner:
And therefore instantly this Prince must die,
For by his fall, my honour must keepe hie.

This would seem to be the wreckage of a longer speech, though the paraphrase in the novel does not help us to reconstruct the original.¹³ Of the good passages few, if any, can be regarded as certainly Shakespearean. The following are the most likely:

- (a) You are a faire Violl, and your sense, the stringes;
Who finger'd to make man his lawfull musicke,
Would draw Heauen downe, and all the Gods to harken.
(I. i. 81-3)

The verse here is limp, and later in the novel there is a description of *Pericles*' skill as a musician,

as if Apollo himself had now been fingering on it, and as if the whole synod of the gods had placed their deities round about him, of purpose to have been delighted with his skill.

But in the play the lines are applied to the daughter of *Antiochus*, and the image of 'lawful musicke' might be Shakespeare's, suggested no doubt by the passage later in the novel.

¹² Sykes assumes that *Two Unnatural Murders* and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* were both written by Wilkins and argues that he "reproduced passages from the pamphlet with no more alteration than was necessary to enable them to pass muster as blank verse. The text of the play closely follows that of the tract throughout, and in several instances the language of the two versions is almost identical." This may be; but there is no reason why with *Pericles* Wilkins should not have written his play first, and compiled his novel when Shakespeare's revision proved a success.

¹³ "ruminating with himselfe, that *Pericles* had found out the secret of his euill, which hee in more secret had committed; and knowing, that he had now power to rip him open to the world, and make his name so odious, that as now heauen did, so at the knowledge thereof all good men would contemne him."

- (b) the blind Mole casts
Copt hills towards heaven, to tell the earth is throng'd
By mans oppression, and the poore Worme doth die for't:
Kinges are earth's Gods; in vice, their law's their will:
And if *Ioue* stray, who dares say, *Ioue* doth ill.
- (I. i. 110)

The first two and a half lines of this passage are in a freer rhythm than the rest of the speech: it reads like an interpolation. The 'poore Worme' has often been compared with the 'poor beetle' of *Measure for Measure*.

- (c) O let those Cities that of plenties cup,
And her prosperities so largely taste,
With their superfluous riots heare these teares... (I. i. 56)

Compare the speeches in *King Lear*, III. iv. 35 and IV. i. 70.

- (d) Thou hast bewicht my daughter,
And thou art a villaine . . .
No? heere comes my Daughter; she can witnesse it.
(II. v. 48, 67)

Compare the lines in *Othello*, I. iii. —

This only is the witchcraft I have used:
Here comes the lady; let her witness it.

The corresponding passage in the novel contains one of the most striking verse 'fossils':

I, traytour, quoth the king, that thus disguised, art stolne into my Court, with the witchcraft of thy actions to bewitch, the yeelding spirit of my tender Childe.

We may suppose that the dialogue ran somewhat as follows in the *Ur-Pericles* — almost as it is in the novel:

- Sim.* Traitor, thou liest.
Per. Traitor!
Sim. Ay, traitor;
 That thus disguised art stol'n into my Court,
 With the witchcraft of thy actions to bewitch
 The yielding spirit of my tender child.
Per. If any in thy Court, except thyself,
 Durst call me traitor,
 Even in his bosom I would write the lie.

Shakespeare would cut all except the first two words of Simonides' last speech and so make Pericles react immediately to the insult, besides reducing the length of the scene.

But the evidence that Shakespeare had anything to do with the opening acts of the play is inconclusive. My opinion, for what it is worth, is that he made a number of cuts and added the lines about the mole.

Shakespeare's play was based on the *Ur-Pericles*¹⁴; but he doubtless knew Gower, and had possibly read Twine. There seems to have been some confusion of thought on this subject: critics who believe that Shakespeare's play was based on Wilkins' novel have continued to assume that Shakespeare also used Twine. If the novel were based on Shakespeare's play, then, of course, the latter might have borrowed incidents from Twine's novel. But once we assume that the play is based on Wilkins' novel, then we should conclude that the Twine influence is only indirect; and once we postulate the existence of an *Ur-Pericles*, Twine can be ignored. There are, I believe, no verbal parallels between *Pericles* and Twine's novel; and even if there were any, they might be *via* the *Ur-Pericles*. There is only one scene which appears to be slightly closer to Twine's version than to that of Wilkins: in the play and in Twine's novel, Thaliard is relieved that, owing to the disappearance of Pericles, he does not have to murder him. Wilkins presumably deviated from the *Ur-Pericles* here. Even the Gower influence, for which some critics have argued, may have come *via* the *Ur-Pericles*.

Finally, it may be pointed out that there are a number of passages and phrases in Wilkins' novel, which are not to be found in *Pericles* itself, but which seem in varying degrees to have a Shakespearean flavour.

(i) they made such a hideous noyse, that it had had power to haue awakened Death, and to haue affrighted Patience: (p. 44)

Cf. May the winds blow till they have waken'd Death!

(*Oth.* II. i. 188)

the sea-mans Whistle

Is as a whisper in the eares of death

Vnheard.

(*Per.* III. i. 8)

Presumably Wilkins was echoing the passage from *Othello*, and Shakespeare in turn echoed Wilkins.

¹⁴ As Wilkins' novel was largely based on the *Ur-Pericles*, the Shakespearean *Pericles* can hardly be based on the novel, especially as such a derivation would involve chronological difficulties. The novel appeared in 1608; and unless Shakespeare saw the manuscript of the novel, he could not have used it for his play, which was already in existence by that date. It is just possible, however, that the printers of the quarto of *Pericles* made use of the novel to correct the reported text of the play. This would account for such parallels as the following, where the novel contains verse fossils, though the verse in the play reads as though it were clumsily converted from the prose of the novel:

"hee was a Gentleman of *Tyre*, his name *Pericles*, his education beene in Artes and Armes, who looking for aduentures in the world..." (p. 32)

"A Gentleman of *Tyre*, my name *Pericles*,

My education beene in Artes and Armes:

Who looking for aduentures in the world..."

(ii) *Leonine* quoth she, thou knowst *Marina*. And madame, quoth he, for a most vertuous Gentlewoman. Talke not of vertue, quoth *Dyonysa*, for thats not the businesse which we haue in hand. (p. 55)

(iii) It is not goodnesse in you (quoth *Marina*) to teach me to be so: for goodnes answerd the bawd, it is a Lecture, such as we vse seldome, & our consciences neuer reade one to another. (p. 61)

(iv) Well, well, well, sayes the Bawde, we most haue no more of this puling, and I must haue you learne to know, that vice is as hereditary to our house, as the olde barne to your countrey beggar. (p. 64)

(v) If you take from mee mine honour, you are like him, that makes a gappe into forbidden ground, after whome too many enter, and you are guiltie of all their euilles. (p. 65)

These four passages, though excellent, are not beyond Wilkins' range. No. (v) is vaguely familiar, but I have not yet been able to trace its source.

(vi) the Gouverneur, who should liue well, the better to be bolde to punish euill (p. 66).

Perhaps imitated by Wilkins from *Measure for Measure*, III. ii. 275.

(vii) make me your seruant, I will willingly obey you; make mee your bondwoman, I will accompt it freedome; let me be the worst that is called vile, so I may still liue honest, I am content: (p. 66)

This resembles *The Tempest*, III. i. 89 ff.:

I'll be your servant
Whether you will or no....
with a heart as willing
As bondage e'er of freedom.

Perhaps Shakespeare remembered the Wilkins passage, which was probably in the *Ur-Pericles* as well as in the novel.

(viii) this house where in thou liuest, is euen the receptacle of all mens sinnes, and nurse of wickednesse. (p. 66)

The word 'receptacle' (here spoken by Lysimachus to Marina) may have suggested Marina's speech to Boult later in the play —

Doe any thing but this thou doest, emptie olde receptacles, or common-shores of filthe.

★

I have endeavoured to show the relationship of Wilkins' novel to Twine's, and to prove that it was based on an earlier play, which also served as the source of Shakespeare's *Pericles*, and I have suggested tentatively that the novel has a few interpolations from Shakespeare's play and that the quarto of the latter may have been slightly influenced by the novel. I have

accepted Sykes' theory of the authorship of the *Ur-Pericles*, though I believe it was written before, and not after, the novel. Elsewhere¹⁵ I have given reasons for believing that the quarto of *Pericles* obscures at least one theme of Shakespeare's play; but it is clear that he left the first two acts more or less as they stood in the *Ur-Pericles*. Wilkins was not a good dramatist, but he provided Shakespeare with the gangway to his last period. For that he has earned a vicarious immortality.¹⁶

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Notes and News

Two Notes to the Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

II

We next come to that passage in which Chaucer describing the Monk says of him:

The reule of Seint Maure or of Seint Beneit,
By cause that it was old and somdel streit
This ilke monk leet olde thynges pace,
And heeld after the newe world the space. A 173-6

This passage has never been satisfactorily explained.¹³

We either have to assume 'a violent anacoluthon after 174' or assume with Liddell a caesura after 'leet', taking that verb in the sense of 'neglected' and looking upon 'olde thynges pace' as a parenthetical remark. Neither explanation is, I think, very satisfactory. Are we to assume that Chaucer was guilty of so serious an anacoluthon in his Prologue, a piece of work that shows every characteristic of having been most carefully composed? We can hardly assume that. On the other hand Liddell's explanation makes it necessary to assume that the scribes of both El and Hn must have misunderstood the meaning of 'leet' because both MSS have the caesura

¹⁵ *Notes and Queries*, 21 Aug. 1948.

¹⁶ Hardin Craig's article in *Studies in Philology*, Oct. 1948, covers some of the same ground as mine, but it reached me after mine had gone to press, and too late for me to comment on it.

¹³ In a note Skeat added: "The Harl. MS. reads, "This ilke monk leet forby hem pace" (error for leet hem forby him pace?), "This same monk let them pass by him unobserved." ... pace, pass by, remain in abeyance.' Though this reading would make sense and avoid the anacoluthon, it seems better to abide by the Ellesmere MS. and 'the excellence of its readings'. Cf. Manly and Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*. Chicago, 1940, III, 9: Ha⁴ forby hem.

after 'monk'. Robinson, for one, cannot accept Liddell's reading, because he considers 'the resulting construction, though logical .. unnatural'.

The second difficulty lies in the words 'heeld' and 'the space' which Skeat took together as meaning 'and held his course in conformity with the new order of things'.¹⁴ This explanation is now generally rejected and 'heeld' is taken in an absolute sense, while 'the space' is taken in an adverbial sense, meaning 'in the meantime'. I must confess that I do not consider this a very elegant solution. Skeat's explanation had at least the merit of combining two words which to all appearance belong together, whereas the second reading leaves us with an unparalleled use of 'the space' which can only be explained by putting it on a par with 'the while'.¹⁵

It is not without a certain hesitation that I put forward the following reading which would solve these two difficulties at once. 'The rule of St. Maur or of St. Benet, being somewhat old and strict (narrow), this same monk let old people (= thynges) go through, or, observe (= pace)' so: left it for the monks of former times or perhaps also for old-fashioned monks in his own days, to observe the rule of St. Maur and St. Benet, whereas he himself 'held the space' (with a strong stress on 'space' as against the narrow rule), i.e. he allowed himself a greater liberty and took the spacious world for his province, in accordance with more 'modern' conceptions. It will be seen that I look upon 'thynges' as the subject of the construction 'olde thynges pace the reule, etc.', and interpret it as 'persons', while taking 'pace' as a transitive verb.

The use of 'thing' for 'person' is nothing new. NED s.v. *thing* 10 has the following remark: 'Applied to a person, now only in contempt, reproach, pity, or affection (esp. to a woman or child); formerly also in commendation or honour', and gives the following quotations:

c 1290 *St. Lucy* 150 in *S. Eng. Leg.* I. 105 3wan he ne miȝte þis clene þing [St. Lucy] ouer-come mid al is lore.

a 1300 *Cursor M.* 2077 Fle me fra, þou wared thing.

Ibid. 7285 Samuel.. was a selcuth dughti thing.

The next two quotations both contain 'swete thing', referring to a girl; but even as late as

1607 Shaks. *Cor.* IV. v. 122 But that I see thee heere Thou noble thing,

we still find the word used with reference to a man, and that in a commendatory sense. Besides, Chaucer uses the collocation 'a yong thing' in *The Merchant's Tale* with reference to a girl:

¹⁴ Skeat's explanation is also the one adopted by NED, X, 496c, s.v. *space* 12.

¹⁵ Cf. J. M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales*, London: 'the space "meanwhile", but the expression was not very familiar in the fifteenth century, for many of the MSS substitute *trace* for it.'

But certeynly, a yong thyng may men gye,
Right as men may warm wex with handes plye. E 1429 ¹⁶

So it is not impossible that Chaucer made the worldly monk use the word 'thing' here with regard to men whom at heart he must have pitied and despised: the monks of former times or even old-fashioned monks of his own days who were so foolish as to abide by a strict interpretation of the rule and stayed in their monasteries, whereas he, being a man of broader views, preferred 'the space', that is the world outside the narrow walls of his monastery, and the liberty it afforded.

The use of 'pace' may seem a little forced at first sight, but it may partly have been occasioned by the exigencies of the rhyme. It is, however, not quite unparalleled. Cf. NED s.v. *pass*, v. 32 (VII, 524a):

To go or come through in the way of a course of study or treatment, experience or suffering; *esp.* to experience, undergo, endure, put up with, suffer.

a 1340 Hampole *Psalter* CXXIII.I Þaim þat ere passid þe perils of bis world.

c 1400 *Destr. Troy* 12704 Thies passet the perellis of the pale ythes.

As to the expression 'heeld the space', this is certainly not stranger than the use of 'hold' in an absolute sense, which is required if 'the space' is looked upon as an adverbial adjunct. A parallel may be found in such phrases as 'to hold one's chamber' Obs. Cf. NED s.v. *hold* 7d:

To continue to occupy; to remain in (a place); not to move from or leave; to 'keep'. Obs.

c 1386 Chaucer *Man of Law's T.* 623 She halt hire chambre.

a 1450 *Knt. de la Tour*.. 64 Had they holde the highe waye.

1513 Douglas *Æneis* III. III. 84 The schippis haldand the deip see.

Cf. Chaucer *Truth* 20 Hold the heye wey, and lat thy gost thee lede.

So instead of 'holding' his study, as he ought to do, and as 'old things' did, our monk 'heeld the space'.

That the word 'space' may have had this connotation is suggested by the following passage from the *Roman de la Rose*, in which Old French *espace* has this sense:

Qui de fame veaut avoir grace,
Mete la toujourz en espace;

¹⁶ It should be noted that in Old French 'chose' is also used for 'personne, creature'. Cf. Godefroy, II, 129, and Tobler-Lommatzsch, 2.415: '(lebendes) Wesen':

Se tu es bone u male chose, *Rou* III, 307, and more quotations.

The use of the word *thing* in the following quotations from *The Parson's Tale* would seem to admit of a different explanation:

Loo, what seith Seint Augustyn: "Ther is no-thing so lyk the develes child as he that ofte chydeth." (*v.r.* nothyng) § 42; 630.

For, as seith the philosopre, 'A man is a quyke thyng, by nature debonaire and trefable to goodnesse.' § 49; 658.

Jamais en regle ne la tiegne,
 Ainz aille a son vouloir e viegne;
 Car cil qui la veaut retenir
 Qu'el ne puisse aler ne venir,
 Seït sa moillier ou seït sa drue,
 Tantost en a l'amour perdue. 9717-24

Here also *espace* and *regle* are contrasted, and the glossary explains *metre en espace* as: *laisser la liberté*.¹⁷ It is not unlikely that Chaucer should have been influenced by the sense the word has here, considering the many parallels there are to be found between his work and the *Roman de la Rose*.¹⁸

In connection with this interpretation one should also compare a passage from Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, to which our attention was drawn by a quotation in Pollard, o.c. 49, in which Pollard quotes the last two lines from Flügel:

Quos monachi veteres plantabant nuper amoris,
 Invidie fructus iam nouus ordo parit.
 Nil modo Bernardi sancti vel regula Mauri
 Confert, commonachis displicet immo nous.¹⁹ IV, 335-8

Here, too, the monks of former days are contrasted with the 'modern' type of monk.

If our reading of this passage is adopted, it will be seen that it forms a clear and well-ordered period, which is completely balanced in sense and form. Moreover, it will be seen that the antithesis expressed in it is further worked out in all that Chaucer tells us about the monk in the subsequent lines. Notice, for instance, 'a monk out of his cloystre', 'Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure', and 'How shal the world be served?'. The contrast between the 'cloister' and 'the space' could hardly be illustrated more clearly.

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

The Symbolic Vowel in *ass*, *bastard*, *Catholic* and others

One of the most fundamental dialect boundaries felt by the ordinary speaker of English who has not had a philological training is what one might call the 'castle' [kæsl — kq:sl] line. It concerns the different development of ME *a* before *s* + consonant — i.e. normally to [æ, â, e] in Northern and Midland counties, but to [ɑ:, æ:] in Southern and South Midland counties. Joseph Wright,¹ in his consideration of this point, listed the following words

¹⁷ Ed. E. Langlois, 5 vols. Paris, 1914-24.

¹⁸ Cf. D. S. Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*. New York, Col. U. P., 1914.

¹⁹ G. C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*. The Latin Works. Oxford, 1902.

¹ Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford 1905, § 26.

for comparison: *ass*, *brass*, *castle*, *clasp*, *glass*, *grass*, *fast*, *fasten*, *hasp*, *wasp*. Most speaker of Received Standard English would agree that all these words have [ɑ:], with the exception of *wasp*, whose vowel has been influenced by the initial *w*, and there might be some doubt about the pronunciation of *ass*, i.e. [æs] or [ɑ:s].

In 1912 the Norwegian scholar August Western² drew up a list of words in which [æ] and [ɑ:] were both possible before *s* + consonant in Received Standard:

<i>aspen</i>	<i>plastic</i>
<i>exasperate</i>	<i>pasture</i>
<i>bast</i>	<i>mastiff</i>
<i>bastard</i>	<i>lass</i>
<i>dastard</i>	<i>mass</i>
<i>enthusiastic</i>	<i>ass</i>
<i>blasphemy</i> and its derivatives	<i>morass</i>

After nearly forty years there is now some doubt about many of these; Daniel Jones in his *English Pronouncing Dictionary*³ gives only [æ] for *bast*, *lass*, *plastic*, *bastard*, *dastard* and *morass*, and only [ɑ:] for *pasture*.⁴ Western commented at the time: *Im grossen und ganzen scheint [ɑ:] in volkstümlichen wörtern vorzuherrschen, während gelehrte oder seltnere wörter [æ] haben*. Some years later Ekwall observed that it was not as simple as that,⁵ and later development has proved his main contention correct. Western's list can now be reduced to: *aspen*, *exasperate*, *enthusiastic*, *blasphemy*, etc., *mastiff*, *ass*. *Bastard* is a special case which we shall consider later. Western's list can be supplemented by the following, which is not restricted to words containing *s* + consonant.

<i>pastoral</i>	<i>esperanto</i>
<i>paschal</i>	<i>graph</i>
<i>pasty</i>	<i>commandant</i>
<i>plantation</i>	<i>jackass</i>
<i>piano</i>	<i>tabernacle</i>
<i>trans-</i> words (e.g. <i>translate</i> , <i>transport</i> etc.)	<i>sacrament</i>
<i>ecclesiastic</i>	<i>Catholic</i>
<i>drastic</i>	<i>alas</i>
<i>elastic</i>	

² August Western, *Englische Lautlehre*, Leipzig 1912, § 83.

³ I have used the 4th edition, 1937, for this investigation, and my collection of material is largely excerpted from it though it has been checked by my own usage and that of my colleagues and students.

⁴ The [ɑ:] in *pastor* has been firmly supported by the rhyming locution *pastors* and *masters*; the [ɑ:] in *master* is early modern (fifteenth century; H. C. Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, 3rd edition, Oxford 1936, p. 294, 257). The [æ] in *pastorale* [pæstə'rq:lɪ] is presumably due to dissimilation.

⁵ Eilert Ekwall, *Historische neuenglische Laut- und Formenlehre*, 2. Aufl. Berlin-Leipzig 1922 (Sammlung Götschen no. 735), p. 36.

With many of these words I do not myself feel the difference between the two pronunciations to be semantically significant. Some cases seem to show a progressive tendency towards the [æ] sound which is probably due to the steadily increasing influence of the industrial North throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and to the — also steadily increasing and cumulative — effect of the American films. The case of *plantation* is instructive here. A plantation of trees has [ɑ:] for most speakers of Received Standard; the [æ] pronunciation derives, I suggest, largely from darkie songs localised 'down on the old plantation' [æ], and tends to be restricted to *plantation* in the 'colonial' sense. Another instructive instance is that of *pasty*, which Jones asserts to divide as follows: a Cornish [pɑ:sti] but a Yorkshire [pæsti];⁶ these two different forms for different articles of food show clearly the geographical factor which is often responsible for uncertainty in pronunciation in Received Standard. The differences in pronunciation in many of the words in the list above are due to various regional influences which are now in the process of sorting themselves out. The effect of the new Education Act will probably be to increase the number of doublets of [æ] and [ɑ:] in the speech of the next generation or so, with [æ] steadily gaining ground.

A certain number of words in the list do however show a certain nuance in meaning between the two pronunciations, such as we have already seen adumbrated under *pasty*. It is with these that this note is particularly concerned.

I am familiar through my parents, both of whom were born and bred in London and who are now both over seventy-five, with the distinction, noted by Daniel Jones, between [æs], a beast of burden, a donkey, and [ɑ:s], a foolish person. I do not make this distinction regularly myself, and it seems that among younger people [æ] is winning rapidly for both meanings. It is clear that among those who use both forms, [ɑ:s] has an emotive force which [æs] has not.⁷

In my own speech I make a distinction, which I note others make too, between a b[æ]stard — a person born out of wedlock — and a b[ɑ:]stard — an objectionable person. The term *bastard* [æ] has no emotional significance for me; it is a technical term, like *cyclotron*, *magneto*, *philology*, *semantics*, etc. A b[ɑ:]stard on the other hand is a very different matter; if I say a man is a b[ɑ:]stard it implies a reflection on his moral character

⁶ A Yorkshire *pasty* used to consist of galantine in a terrine (though some Yorkshiremen now describe it as a folded jam tart), a Cornish *pasty* of meat and potatoes entirely enfolded in pastry. Jones's distinction is not familiar to me; I say [pæsti] for both.

⁷ The emotive force of [ɑ:s] is probably supported by association — often unconscious — with *arse*. That the two words are often associated is shown by the development in other dialects. In the Eastern part of the United States, for instance, where the disappearance of *r* before consonants does not occur, and ME *a* becomes [æ] before *s*, *arse* appears as [æs]; the word *ass* is, I understand, not commonly applied to persons, American speech having developed a rich variety of words indicating foolish people. According to Jones, *jackass* follows *ass*; I use [æ] only.

and involves a strong emotive element. I note that historians refer to the B[æ]stard of Orleans, and I am informed that lawyers speak of b[æ]stards and b[æ]stardy in the technical sense.⁸ Here too, therefore, as with *ass*, we find that the short vowel is neutral and the long vowel emotive.⁹ It is significant that the current euphemism for *bastard* as a term of opprobrium is *basket*, which has [ɑ:] only in Received Standard.

We have seen that with *ass* and *bastard* the [ɑ:] indicates emotive value. A fruitful field for the investigation of emotive values in language is the usage of religious communities. The *déformation professionnelle* in clerical speech is familiar in all languages and has left traces in the received form of many of them, particularly in the case of divine names, which necessarily carry emotional associations.¹⁰ It is worth while looking at the terms in the list which relate to the religious or liturgical fields.

The hesitation between the two pronunciations in the word *ecclesiastic* and its cognates (including the books *Ecclesiastes* and *Ecclesiasticus*) is perhaps significant in this connexion if we bear in mind similar formations such as *dynastic* which have [æ] only and are technical terms with no special associations for most people.

The usage of the Roman Catholic Church provides some interesting material here. Whereas Anglicans when referring to the Roman service, pronounce [mæs] with a short vowel, many Catholics refer to [mɑ:s]. I am told that similar pairs can be made out for *sacrament* — [sækrəmənt] the Protestant form and [sɑ:krəmənt] the Catholic — and for *tabernacle* [tæ:bənækl] and [tɑ:bənækl]; and finally, as is well known, for the designation *Catholic* itself, which some Catholics pronounce [kɑ:θlik].¹¹

⁸ I am grateful for assistance on this point to the Master of Magdalene College, the Rt. Hon. H. U. Willink, K.C. He seemed quite shocked at the suggestion that he might refer to a man as a [bɑ:stəd] in court.

⁹ In the colloquial speech of the Forces the term [bɑ:stəd], by a familiar linguistic process, has become so generalised as to cease to have emotive force; a like fate has overtaken *bloody* and *bugger* and a whole group of similarly forceful expressions. Any person — or indeed any object — can be called a [bɑ:stəd], often quite affectionately. Some other word or form is therefore required for the truly objectionable thing or person. The word *bastard* in fact continues to be used but with an ultra-short accented vowel [bɑ stəd]; the very short vowel, together with the consonantal pattern, indicating a release of emotion like a safety-valve opening under pressure from within. The form [bæstəd] does not occur, at least not among Southerners.

¹⁰ Compare here the suggestive note by A. T. Hatto, 'The Name of God in Gothic', in *Modern Language Review* 1944, p. 247, and his follow-up in the same periodical 1946, p. 67. One might also adduce Spanish *Dios*. In my own College Chapel I have heard a sermon by a visiting preacher in the course of which he dealt with T. E. Lawrence's remark that *god* is 'the shortest and ugliest of our monosyllables' (*Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, chap. III, new ed. 1940, p. 39). He maintained that the form [gɒd] was unworthy of the Divine Name, that it gave us no impression of the power and majesty of God. He urged us to think of God as [gɑ::d], with an ecstatic length of vowel to which I can only do justice in phonetic transcription by using two colons. Here is a man making emotive language.

¹¹ Anglicans do not use the form with [ɑ:] in the clause 'the holy Catholic Church' when reciving the Apostles' Creed or 'one Catholic and Apostolic Church' in the Nicene.

Roman Catholicism in England is the religion of a minority. It is inclined to be self-conscious and its adherents are informed with a vigorous *esprit de corps*. All these factors favour the emergence of group speech habits, in which the desire to distinguish the Catholic from the non-Catholic speaker plays an important part. I do not wish to be understood to say that these speech habits are characteristic of *all* Roman Catholics in England.

It is worth while casting a glance at other usages in group speech involving the pair [æ] and [ɑ:]. The normal pronunciation of *piano* is [pjænou], but the professional musician with a pride in his instrument frequently uses [pjɑ:nou] or [piq:nou]. Most people pronounce *esperanto* [espə'ræntou], but the Esperantist (who is usually an enthusiast) pronounces [espə'rɑ:ntou]. *Commandant* is usually pronounced [kɒmən'dænt], but the form [kɒmən'dɑ:nt] is current (though not universal) in the Army.

I am on less certain ground when I assert that for my own *Sprachgefühl* the word *exasperate* with [ɑ:] carries more expressive emotion than it does with [æ] and that *drastic* [ɑ:] is more vigorous than *drastic* [æ] or that *blasphemy* [ɑ:] is a more serious matter than *blasphemy* [æ].¹² Those who heard Mr Churchill's broadcast speeches during the war will recall the wealth of emotion he was able to infuse into the word *Nazi* by pronouncing it [nq:ɑzi].

So far small consideration has been given to the origin of these pronunciations, since the object of this note was to point out the difference in function between the members of the pairs. In most cases there can be little doubt that the regional differences in the development of ME *a* are sufficient to account for the two forms. *Piano*, *commandant* and *esperanto* are foreign words and it is natural that an approximation to the foreign vowel should be retained by those who use the words as it were professionally; I cannot help thinking however that professional pride, as well as professional conservatism, is involved here. In the case of the Roman Catholic usages, it has been suggested to me that the reason may be found in the influence of the accentual Latin of the Roman liturgy. I do not think that this can have been of more than contributory value, since the words in question receive the stress on different syllables in Latin: *Cathólicus*, *sacraméntum*, *tabernáculum*, while *mass* is Latin *missa*. The cause should, I think be sought in the influence of Southern Irish priests, who for generations have played a large part in the cure of souls in England. The mid-nineteenth century slang term *Galway* for a Roman Catholic priest is another linguistic testimony to this circumstance. Recently moreover prominent Eireann politicians and churchmen have adduced the pastoral activities of Irish priests in the English-speaking world as an important element in Eire's contribution to Western civilisation. The congregation,

¹² I am uncertain about *enthusiastic* and *enthusiast*; I have only heard the [ɑ:] forms from Irish speakers, though Jones gives both. Efforts to find a valid distinction with *elastic* (e.g. [æ] in scientific and technical, [ɑ:] in household use) have failed. I think however that the [ɑ:] in *nasty*, *disastrous* and *disaster* has maintained itself for reasons of symbolism.

in the matter of certain technical terms, tends to take its speech from the incumbent, but the Irish forms would not have survived if they had not had some function in the community either as distinguishing the Catholic from the Protestant, or as appealing to a more specifically emotional element by investing terms connected with sacred objects or with the liturgy with a more than ordinary significance.

It would seem that in the struggle for existence between forms of the same word having [æ] and [ɑ:] there is a tendency to make semantic distinctions between the rival forms, in the sense that the [ɑ:] forms are associated with emotive values. This is probably a temporary phase: [ɑ:s] for instance is already dying. Even so, perhaps, it may prove instructive in the investigation of other emotive forms, e.g. the alternation *can* and *can't*, and the consideration of pairs involving other vowels.¹³

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LEONARD FORSTER.

Personal. Dr. Fernand Mossé, author of *Histoire de la Forme Périphrastique être + participe présent en Germanique*, *Manuel de la Langue Gotique*, *Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Age*, and many other contributions to English and Germanic Philology, has been elected to the chair of 'Langues et Littératures d'Origine Germanique' at the Collège de France.

Professor George O. Curme (Northwestern University), author of Volumes II and III of *A Grammar of the English Language*, died early in 1948.

Professor Dr. Johannes Hoops (Heidelberg), and Professor Dr. Max Deutschbein (Marburg) died in April 1949.

Questions and Answers. 1. The following quotation is from *Country Lawyer* by Bellamy' Partridge:

The animal seemed to have shrunk in cooking, and my mother did not want it to appear as if there were not enough.

Among ourselves we made wry faces. The doctrine of 'family hold back', though of infrequent application in our household, was not unknown...

Query: Is this expression (Dutch: *eigen bedankt*) also used in British English?

2. Has the *Englisches Handwörterbuch*, von Dr. M. M. Arnold Schroër, published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg, ever been completed?

M. HOOGESTEGGER.

¹³ It is suggestive that in Lancashire *cheap* has two forms: [tʃi:p] = inexpensive, and [tʃeɪp] = shoddy, "cheap and nasty"; also that in South Wales [fɹɹk], the well-known term referring in an outspoken manner to sexual intercourse, is restricted to this sense, while for expletive use [fɹɹ:k] is common. These cases, for which I am indebted to my colleague T. D. Jones of Jesus College, show a development analogous to that of *dausig* in the dialect of Basel (MHG *tüsent*) which is discussed by E. Hoffmann[-Kramer], *Der mundartliche Vokalismus von Basel-Stadt in seinen Grundzügen dargestellt*, Basel (Diss.) 1890, § 186.

[We are informed by Carl Winter that Part 7 of Schröder's Dictionary is expected this summer, and that further parts are in preparation. E d.]

Points of Modern English Syntax. At the request of Mr. Erades we are holding over the next batch of Points till August.

Reviews

Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader. By B. RAJAN. 171 pp. London: Chatto and Windus. 1947. Price 10/6 net.

The work opens with a survey of Miltonic criticism and suggests that the proper task of this criticism should not be to tell us how Milton wrote his epic but rather to indicate how it ought to be read. This change of attitude rearranges the material of recent researches; it lays proper emphasis on the heroic poem as the noblest product of the noblest profession; and Milton appears 'as possibly the last person in history to hold all human knowledge for his province'.

Mr. Rajan affirms a principle of Milton criticism advocated by Arnold Williams:¹

that Milton, in order neither to offend his orthodox readers nor to betray his own conscience, sometimes adopts a formulation capable of two interpretations. For Milton's private interpretation one should by all means go to *Christian Doctrine*, but for the interpretation which the bulk of his readers gave the formulation one must perforce go to some treasury of hexaemeral commonplace, and Du Bartas is the best of the kind.

and develops it, holding that Milton, though he suppressed some of his convictions for reasons of caution, also was affected by the different aims of prose and poetry. His beliefs, when they are embodied in *Paradise Lost*, are cheek by jowl with invention and conjecture. This interpretation returns to the fact that Milton was a poet, and could make his material as well as take it from predecessors or contemporaries. Both aspects must be investigated but Mr. Rajan's study is useful because while he constantly attempts to place Milton in his setting, he never loses sight of the fact that he is dealing with a poet.

In the chapter on *Paradise Lost* a theory is advanced to account for the innate balance planned for the poem, in which destructive elements are balanced by and atoned for by creative. This is Milton's peculiar achievement, to have employed so many correspondences and incorporated

them in the structure of the epic. This theory accounts for the preliminary temptation in the fourth book. The treatment of the problem of Satan also relies on the theory. Satan is seen as progressively degenerating, and due emphasis is laid on the Niphates speech as revealing the inner chaos in the Devil; but Mr. Rajan demonstrates that Satan, being a poetic representation, varies according to his circumstances. He concludes that the failure of Milton's portrait lies not in his creation of Satan but in the shortcomings of the Heavenly values which should subdue him; Milton 'may justify God's ways but he does not celebrate them', and yet he was not primarily more interested in evil than good. This conclusion is wise, for it allows us to realise the weaknesses, the lack of goodness or mercy in Milton's dutiful concepts of Heavenly Rule, while refusing to concur with Blake's heresy.

The style of *Paradise Lost*, according to Mr. Rajan, is founded on epic style, not dramatic blank verse; it is a method of illustration which demands a prior assent on the part of the reader to the precepts the epic offers. The detailed analyses of passages are excellent; the sounds and stresses of the Miltonic style being given due recognition, the similes being treated with illuminating comment, and the variety of Milton's simplicity brought home in all its richness. The copious use made of alliteration by Milton could have received more attention.

It is a pleasure to read this book which blends scholarship with cleverness and originality. The undercurrent of humour is welcome; and the presence of ideas stimulating. The arrangement of notes is good, but a bibliography of works and articles referred to should have been provided.

Groningen/Edinburgh.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES.

Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography by ROGER LANCELYN GREEN. Leicester: Edmund Ward. 1946. Price 15/— net.

Andrew Lang (1844—1912) was one of the most popular writers of his day, but, as his biographer readily admits, this contemporary reputation has not survived him. His great scholarship is admitted and his translation of the *Odyssey* with S. H. Butcher is still a standard work to-day. But students of literature will perhaps feel some surprise at Mr. Green's claim that Lang has been unduly neglected, and is a writer to be taken with an appropriate seriousness.

Mr. Green makes no extravagant claims, and his portrait of an able, charming and imaginative personality is well mannered, conscientious and on the whole interesting. Lang, apart from his work as a classical scholar,

¹ In a review of Maurice Kelley's *This Great Argument*, *Modern Philology*, Vol. XL, No 1, August 1942, p. 103-104.

was an essayist, a poet and a writer of tales and fairy stories. He wrote with style and ability and his gifts constituted him, in a phrase of Henley's, the "Divine Amateur of Letters". He had a pleasant and whimsical sense of humour and his description of the way to his London house: "Walk up the Cromwell Road until you drop — and then turn right" will appeal to all acquainted with that somewhat lugubrious and interminable thoroughfare.

But, pleasantness and whimsicality apart, we must finally ask what there is in the works of Andrew Lang to justify our interest, and the biography of Mr. Green. In poetry and as an essayist Lang was a contemporary success, but Mr. Green's quotations and commentary do not persuade us that the work is other than pleasing and ephemeral. It is elegant journalism, no more. In fact it is only as a writer of romantic tales, and in particular as an editor and inventor of fairy stories that Lang (apart from his *Odyssey*) would seem to claim the attention of posterity.

Passing his boyhood in the Scottish Border country, Lang was saturated from the first in romance, in legends and folklore, in stories of ghosts and fairies. The fascination never left him and in 1889 he compiled, for children, his first great collection of fairy tales: *The Blue Fairy Book*. The publishers, confronted with the unexpected, were, after the manner of publishers, dubious. A contemporary writer declared: "At the present moment the fairy-tale seems to have given way entirely in popularity to the child's story of real life, the novel of childhood, in which no effort is spared to make children appear as they are." But the children of England knew better. *The Blue Fairy Book* and its successor *The Red Fairy Book* were both enormously popular, and were followed year by year with fairy books bearing all the colours of the rainbow. How many people in England now, recalling the Green, the Yellow, the Pink and Grey and Violet, the Crimson, Brown, Orange, Olive or Lilac Fairy Books, realise their indebtedness to Andrew Lang? Undisputed Master of Fairyland, Lang ransacked the world for fairy tales and wrote some of his own. Perhaps it was a greater achievement than even he appreciated at the time. Once more to-day the desiccating realism which he found pervading the nursery reading of England has returned (and perhaps to Europe as well). The beautiful, romantic, imaginative tales have given place to whimsical fancy and pure silliness, to robust and often brutal adventure stories featuring the latest scientific devices for slaughter and destruction. Is this perhaps the pernicious legacy of the first realistic adventure story of all, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*? At all events parents who view with dismay their children's present reading, may well ponder the achievement of Andrew Lang and the immediate and astonishing response which it received. The importance of romance, of the fairytale in childhood, may be hard to establish, but we may at least note in passing the experience of the great poets of all literatures. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Goethe, to name but three comparatively near to us in time, have all acknowledged their imaginative indebtedness to the fairy-tales and romances of childhood.

It is then as 'The Master of Fairyland' that we perhaps prefer to

remember Andrew Lang. Mr. Green's book gives us the facts of his life and work, and if we cannot fully share his estimate of Lang as a creative writer, we are nevertheless not ungrateful. In conclusion it might perhaps be permissible to render a small personal acknowledgement for the 'Blue' and the 'Pink'!

Amsterdam.

D. R. GODFREY.

The American College Dictionary. Edited by CLARENCE L. BARNHART. xl + 1432 pp. New York: Random House. [1947]. \$5.00.

To review this excellent dictionary is a matter of some difficulty. There is little a reviewer can say which has not already been said, either, in the way of effusive laudation, in the blurb on the jacket, or, in the way of scholarly comment and explanation, in the ample introduction to the work itself. And if the blurb-writer remains anonymous, the introductions to the various specialized fields in dictionary-work bear the names of such distinguished scholars as Professors Irving Lorge and Kemp Malone, to mention only two. Moreover, a staff of over 350 authorities and specialists forms an unexceptionable guarantee that the dictionary covers, and covers well, all the manifold fields and aspects of human knowledge. That, even so, there should be omissions, and occasionally perhaps slight errors, is as much to be forgiven as it is to be expected in all human achievement.

The book is large, but not unwieldy; and though it is avowedly a desk dictionary it is easily taken in one hand and then as easily manipulated. It is also said to be strong and durable, and it certainly looks the part. Of course it is only through long and constant use that the volume's merits and defects can appear in their proper light, and even so its use by any one single person does not perhaps afford a good criterion, as interests do vary. Thus to the present writer it seems that even though the number of technical and scientific definitions is 60,000 out of over 125,000 entries, it could yet have been larger.

The province of a dictionary is words and their meanings. But the difficulty here seems to lie more with the words than with the meanings. Even before one can decide what meanings to include one has to decide upon the words themselves; and it is here that we might wish to quarrel with the system followed in this work. It contains a comparatively high proportion of proper names, both personal and geographical; and here the task of selection becomes indeed arduous. Competent word-frequency research can give an admirable basis to normal dictionary work; but it is to be doubted whether this also holds good for proper names. In comparison with these the other words form a stable, almost rigid body, whereas their own frequency is continually changing. The reader of to-day

is much more interested in Lake Success and Flushing Meadows (neither of them in the dictionary) than in Orel or Dneprodzerzhinsk. Yet Lake Success and Flushing Meadows are not by any means new words. It seems to us that the dictionary would have gained much in usefulness if large numbers of these proper names had been left to the Encyclopaedias, whose special province it is to deal with them. As is recognized on p. xxiii, the normal user turns to his dictionary for the less common word; and obviously then the larger their number, the more useful the dictionary will be. Moreover, a reader will usually want to know much more about a proper name than about most other words; but he does not become much wiser on finding that 'James Hogg ("the Ettrick Shepherd") 1770—1835' was a 'Scottish poet'; that Hohenlohe is 'a German princely family, fl. 12—19th centuries'. Hokiang, Hokkaido, Hokodate (without the otherwise usual cross-reference to Hakodate) are doubtless as interesting as Chimborazo and Cotopaxi, and have much more impressive populations; but both these and Josef Hofmann, William Hogarth, La Hogue, Hohenlinden, Hohenstaufen, Hohenzollern, Katsushika Hokusai, and the two Holbeins — to finish the cases on p. 576 — we should willingly have sacrificed for something on holism and holistic philosophy, and on the related meaning of 'whole', under that entry.

However, the number of omissions which the normal user will notice is not high. (We would mention *comb-out*, *go-slow*, *impossibilist*, *-ism*, *lightning-strike*, *preparator*, the various combinations of *servo-*.) He might prefer to the explanation of *in short order* as *immediately* Webster's *with despatch*; and if he were Dutch he might insist that the *Netherlands* have not two *capitals*, *Amsterdam* and *the Hague*, but only one, *Amsterdam*.

A comparison with other dictionaries will reveal (naturally) more missing words. A random comparison of Odhams, p. 148, with the relevant sections (on pp. 151-152) of the ACD yields 33 entries found in Odhams, not in ACD, as against 21 found in ACD, not in Odhams. With the exception of 4 proper names these 21 are all found in the big Webster; where also 22 out of the 33 Odhams entries occur. The 11 others are nearly all fairly self-explanatory compounds and combinations.

When all has been said to show what the reviewer thinks defects in the book, it remains that this is by no means the aspect which strikes him most. If it is here maintained that the editor has tried to do too much, it is only fair to add that he has undoubtedly done that well.

The book also appears in a British edition, different only in binding and title, as *The Modern Library Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: Random House, Newcastle upon Tyne: Harold Hill & Son. [1948].

Groningen.

JOH. GERRITSEN.

Current Literature, 1948

I. Fiction, Drama and Poetry

In the field of original, creative literature the year 1948 has, with a few noteworthy exceptions, been as disappointing and unproductive as its immediate predecessor. Poetry has the best record to show, though even here it is to collections of the earlier works of living or recent writers rather than to new productions that praise must be given. There has been a dearth of plays of any great merit, while fiction, save in one or two cases, has not risen above the mediocre. It is only to the exceptions that attention need be devoted here.

From the appearance of his novel *The Power and the Glory* Graham Greene has established himself as one of the foremost of contemporary novelists. His latest work, *The Heart of the Matter* (Heinemann, 9/6), has its setting amidst the squalor of a West African town during the recent war. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, a conscientious, disappointed but religious and idealistic man, with a nagging wife who longs for the more congenial atmosphere of Durban and Cape Town, borrows money to enable her to satisfy her heart's desire and so compromises himself as a government official. In her absence, and under the stress of circumstances, he deteriorates morally and spiritually and finally takes a young school-teacher as his mistress. The unexpected return of his wife precipitates a crisis. A Catholic by religion, (as are most of Mr. Greene's heroes), he confesses to the priest, Father Rank, in the hope that by some miracle a way out of his difficulties will be made plain, but rather than adopt the course the priest prescribes for him he commits suicide by taking an over-dose of drugs.

In more respects than one this is a remarkable novel. The African background, one imagines, is faithfully drawn, and the atmosphere of the British colony skilfully created. By most readers they will have to be taken on trust, but they are certainly realistic and convincing. The really important characters are few: Scobie (the Deputy Commissioner), his wife, the faithful native servant Ali, a subordinate official named Wilson, Father Rank (a disillusioned and none too attractive priest) and the money-lender Yusef; but all are presented with insight and understanding. All are weak, slightly egoistic characters, yet every one is potentially good; they are most of them, perhaps, average, ordinary folk in extraordinary circumstances. Given another environment or other situations they might have lived happily as respectable and respected men and women; here they find themselves unequal to the tasks life lays upon them and the temptations it puts in their way. Indeed it is precisely this conflict between character and environment, the confusion of motives and, in Scobie's case, the conflict between divided loyalties, between human love, self-love and love of God (which to him means the Catholic faith)

that gives to the story its tragic and dramatic intensity. From the very beginning we are conscious of this disharmony, this imminent clash of forces with its consequent sense of impending doom. Thus a small group of people in an out-of-the-way African colony becomes typical of the world and of all humanity, indeed of life itself. The title of the book is presumably symbolic, yet one is left asking at the end, what is the heart of the matter? That humanity is weak and idealism apt to miscarry? That the most potent and most mysterious force in the universe is evil in some form or other? That human beings are the victims of circumstance? It is difficult to see. Yet one thing is certain; there is a breadth, a depth, a universality and an incisiveness of style about this novel that makes it the greatest of its author's achievements so far.

A new novelist of promise has emerged in Robert Kee, who, in *A Crowd Is Not Company* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 9/6) writes what must surely be an autobiographical novel. On the strength of it he has been awarded a Rockefeller Atlantic Fellowship. Told in the first person, it is the story of the experiences and the mental and emotional reactions of a young R.A.F. officer in a German prison camp during the war. Opening at the time when he is briefed in England and soon afterwards shot down in Holland, it finishes when, towards the end of the war, he and his fellow prisoners are hurriedly moved from camp to camp before the oncoming Russian army. Carefully eschewing emotionalism, sensation and melodrama, Mr. Kee contrives to assume an artistic detachment so that he seems to write of a world in which he lived but from which at the same time he stood aloof. Some of his characters are rather flat and colourless, with a certain sameness about them, but others live vividly before us as psychological studies in frustration, disappointment, self-denial, pettiness and large-hearted generosity; and he writes with an ease and a command of language that, if it is sustained, augurs well for any future work from his pen. His novel, however, is not simply the story of a prison camp and its inmates; it is something vaster and more significant, for the camp, with its various types, temperaments, joys, sorrows, jealousies, rivalries and loyalties is symbolic of the human race itself. Significantly enough the book closes with the writer flinging away an anthology of poetry that he had carried in his pocket as a solace for so long. Now he feels it is a hollow mockery and he is almost glad when it is trampled in the mud by the foot of a fellow-prisoner who carelessly and unconcernedly walks over it. "This," he soliloquises, "is what life really is; something foul and heartless, something with no good in it whatever. However much men might talk the other way and pretend that this was not so, they lied. I too had once had my absurd hopes and beliefs, my dreams of escape and liberation. Now I knew that though, of course, I should be released one day, there could be no real escape and liberation from this, ever."

Mount Ida, by Monk Gibbon (Cape, 18/—) is not easy to classify. A very long book of almost five hundred pages it is largely autobiographical (or should one say, rather, reminiscent?), but it is difficult to escape the

conclusion that there is some fiction also interwoven in it, while now and again the author breaks off his narrative for the sake of an excursion into philosophy or speculation upon religion and ethics. The key to it is provided by two sentences in the first few pages. "This nostalgia for lost beauty, what is it?" Mr Gibbon asks on p. 17; and a little later he declares, "If we were to salve anything from life it might well be such moments as these; moments when we stood, as it were, on the threshold of love, when we crossed it for an instant, or when it needed only a slight change of circumstance to have made us enter that transfigured territory." It is three such moments that he seeks to recover from his own past life, and by reconstructing them and pondering upon them to supply the material for the answer to his own question; though in fact he never attempts to answer it. With great care, patience and precision of detail he reconstructs, in retrospect, his emotional experiences aroused in the years between the wars, first by a young schoolmistress in a Welsh preparatory school in which he taught as a graduate fresh from the university, then by a certain Elizabeth whom he meets in Rome, and finally Jopie, a Dutch girl of twenty whose acquaintance he makes at a guest-house at Innsbruck and of whose tragic death in a motor accident he hears a year or so later. All three entered his life for a while and then passed out of it, yet they each represented for him an experience of significance. Wordsworth defined poetry as "emotion recollected in tranquillity", and that perhaps would not be an inappropriate description of the present book. It is, by its very nature, egotistic, but it is far less so than it might have been. There is no self-display, no sentimentalism, no wearing of the heart on the sleeve. On the contrary Mr. Gibbon tells his story and unfolds his emotional experiences with a restraint and detachment that make them seem a little unreal; and the care which he takes to set these experiences in their right perspective, leading up to them in each case slowly and gradually, and never allowing them to dominate the picture, tends to lead to a diffuseness and prolixity. We are so long reaching the climax, we think so often that we are going to reach it and then it is deferred, that when it finally does come it is a little disappointing. But there is some exceedingly good writing in the book. A smooth, dignified, thoughtful style, unadorned by excessive ornament or mannerism but deviating now and then into aphorism gives it a distinction of a kind all too rare in modern prose; and there are also descriptive passages — notably that of Alpine snow and frost (pp. 319-320) — which show a sensuousness, a closeness of observation and a skill in the use of language worthy of any poet. Despite a certain tediousness and a rather too conscious attempt to avoid any suspicion of emotionalism, which sometimes becomes irritating, this is a remarkable book.

The third volume of Sir Osbert Sitwell's autobiography, *Great Morning* (Macmillan, 15/-), carries the story of the author's life from 1911, the point at which he left it in *The Scarlet Tree*, to the outbreak of war in 1914. Strictly speaking, perhaps, it should have been included in the next survey, of Criticism and Biography, but it has been thought more

appropriate to mention it here since its merits are literary as much as autobiographical. Indeed it has a claim to be called the most distinguished piece of writing that the year has produced. The more he tells us of his life the more interesting Sir Osbert becomes, and of all the three volumes which have so far appeared this is the most attractive. Nominally an instalment of autobiography, it is in fact much more than that; it is the picture of an age — or certain aspects of an age — which has passed for ever but which at the same time is near enough to us to seem real and to hold a living as distinct from a merely academic interest. The scene alternates between three localities: the family home at Renishaw in Derbyshire, the barracks at Aldershot and London, and Montegutoni in Italy, where the author's father, Sir George Sitwell, always extravagant in the satisfaction of his own whims though niggardly in the extreme where his children were concerned, bought a mediaeval castle in which for some years he resided as the rich English milord. From the very beginning one is conscious of certain shadows overhanging the life of the writer. His relations with his father were not always of the happiest, very largely, it appears, on account of Sir George's lack of imagination and understanding. He was forced into the army against his will, was kept short of money and was subjected to constant lectures, both oral and written, upon the sin of extravagance and the virtues of frugality. (On one occasion his father, who had spent thousands, upbraided him for paying the meagre sum of threepence for a cup of coffee!). Meanwhile the clouds were gathering over Europe, and the Sitwell family was not without its own worries nearer home. About all this Sir Osbert writes in his usual graceful, well controlled style, with humour as well as with feeling. The book is a veritable portrait gallery both of the famous and the less known. (His sketches range from Sir Edward Lutyens and Sir Basil Zaharoff to his father's servants, gardeners and gamekeepers, and there are some most entertaining anecdotes about a number of them.) Never, surely, could any one house boast of so many oddities and eccentrics as visited Renishaw during these years. But the greatest eccentric of them all is Sir George Sitwell himself, who dominates the book as one gathers he tried to dominate the household and the lives of his children and those about him. *Great Morning*, appropriately named, is within its own field a social document; but first and foremost it is a work of art and a great piece of creative literature.

In the field of the essay two volumes are worthy of notice, T. S. Eliot's *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture* (Faber, 10/6) and G. M. Young's *Today and Yesterday, Collected Essays and Addresses* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 8/6). By temperament Mr. Young is not of the present age. Indeed in his preface he declares "I am one of the very few now living who can not only write but think Victorian", and to the truth of this claim his earlier excellent writings upon Victorian England are ample testimony. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that most of the essays in the present volume deal with the past. They include studies of or observations upon

Gladstone, Burke, Thackeray, Walter Bagehot, the Age of Tennyson, the Letters of George IV, Shakespeare and the Termers, Place Names, London Addresses, Herodotus, the Odyssey, and the Art of Horace. Two pieces, a sympathetic study of Robert Byron and a discussion of Rights and Duties in the Modern State, bring us nearer to recent times, but even here, especially in the latter, the sanity, the belief in the dignity of man and the sense of moral responsibility typical of the Victorians predominate. Indeed, the writer confesses that his principal object in writing these pieces was, by study and contemplation of the past, to establish some basis of ideals and standards of conduct for today; hence the title. Whether he has succeeded in doing this each reader will judge for himself, but his essays are all illuminating, well-informed and well written.

T. S. Eliot's work, ostensibly a single book divided into chapters, is really a series of essays with a common theme, and after reading them one is left a little bewildered. Mr. Eliot talks around his subject a good deal but reaches no very definite or tangible conclusions save that the culture of a society must always be a minority culture, that the present tendency towards levelling and the egalitarian philosophy which is fashionable today make for the submergence and ultimately for the extinction of *élite* minorities, and that consequently it is doubtful whether culture — a word which, despite the title of the book, is never very clearly defined — can continue to survive in the modern world. Much of what Mr. Eliot has to say is salutary. He is one of many who feel concern for the fate of traditional values in this post-war world, and for the fate of the human race if those values disappear, but he rather spoils his case by over-statement.

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Of recent years Louis MacNeice has been better known as a writer of broadcast scripts than as a poet, though it was as a poet that he first won his reputation. *Holes in the Sky* (Faber, 7/6) shows him returning to his earlier medium, though to be honest one must confess that his art seems to have lost something during the intervening period; he is less sure of himself than he was, both intellectually and artistically. The thirty-three poems which constitute the volume were written against the background of the events, anxieties, stresses and strains of the years 1944—47 and many of the happenings of those years, as well as of the few years preceding in them. The opening poem, *The Streets of Laredo*, for instance, is a clever and even moving parody of an American cowboy song adapted to the aftermath of the London blitz, but given a deeper ethical and spiritual significance than the original song ever possessed. It is, however, not typical of the rest. Uncertainty of conviction and even of feeling is perhaps no sin in a poet; but uncertainty of technique is, and it is of just this that one is so often made aware in reading these verses. Their profundity seems superficial (if that is not using a contradiction in terms) and something of a pose on the part of the

poet. They are a little too consciously intellectual in a way that Mr. MacNeice's earlier work was not. The author of these verses is one of those who, like Wordsworth in an earlier age, believe that the imagery and language of poetry should be drawn from the everyday experience and vocabulary of the contemporary man and woman, and in many of these pieces he attempts to apply his theory. (The title of the volume refers to the child's name for the stars in a "modern" folk ballad quoted opposite the title page.) Wordsworth was not always successful in vindicating his theory by his practice, and neither is Mr. MacNeice, for his would-be realism and truth to life too often border upon the prosaic. Individual pieces in this volume attract one, but the collection as a whole is disappointing, in spite of the publishers' statement on the dust-wrapper that admirers of Mr. MacNeice's previous work will be re-assured by the appearance of this.

It is otherwise with the most recent publication of Andrew Young. He has never been a voluminous poet, but all that he has written is characterised by delicacy of feeling and carefulness of diction. *The Green Man* (Cape, 3/6) is only a slender volume and every piece in it is brief, but each bears the stamp of the true craftsman. Mr. Young is touched by the beauty of the simple and ordinary things of life; but he is responsive, too, to its mystery. Moved by the consciousness of a spiritual reality behind and within all existence, he is also puzzled and impressed by the fact of suffering, suffering which so often seems unmerited and inexplicable. The poor, the bereaved, the grief-stricken, the unfortunate call forth his pity and his wonder: a dead sheep, a shot bird, a group of blind children. His imagery is taken direct from his own experience, and every now and then we are surprised with an original simile or metaphor which throws a new light upon our own experiences; yet there is no straining after effect or novelty. A mood of gentle pensiveness suffuses all his verses. In his final lyric he imagines a critic of the future looking back at his work and summing it up in the words, "His lines were terse", and that is possibly the most appropriate tribute that could be paid to them.

A further volume of verse has come from the pen of C. Day Lewis under the title *Poems, 1943—1947* (Cape, 6/—). The contents vary in quality as in their technical characteristics, but generally speaking it may be said that taking them in chronological order there is progression towards greater clarity and lucidity as well as greater economy of diction and more skilful manipulation of metre. In every poem there is an urgent personal note, restrained emotion and depth of feeling, and in the later ones especially a sense of proportion and balance, a matching of mood with form, thought with utterance. The time is long past when Day Lewis was one of the "terrible three" of modern poetry. Beside some of those earlier verses his present work seems almost conservative.

Worthy of mention too, though lack of space forbids a detailed discussion of them, are *Selected Poems by Sacheverell Sitwell, with a Preface by Osbert Sitwell* (Duckworth, 8/6) and *Selected Poems by John Betjeman*,

Chosen, with a Preface, by John Sparrow (Murray, 8/6), the latter notable for the fact that many of the verses included in it reject the rather fashionable poetic belief that modern civilization is ugly, materialistic and unromantic, and find instead beauty, and even wonder and mystery, in machinery, arterial roads, electric pylons and suburban housing estates.

Amongst "Collected Editions" first place must be accorded *The Collected Poems of Richard Church* (Dent, 15/—). It contains 350 poems and comprises all of its author's earlier work which he wishes to preserve with the exception of his two longer pieces, *A Twentieth Century Psalter* and *The Lamp*, which are omitted partly because to include them would have made the book unwieldy, partly because they were published fairly recently and are still available in their original editions. In the present volume the contents are arranged in the same order in which they first appeared, except for a few very early verses, some dating back to 1910, which are grouped together at the end. Mr. Church has long been recognised as one of the major figures amongst contemporary English poets, and here we can see the growth and development of his muse over the last thirty-odd years. A writer with an eye for a landscape, a sense of human values and human situations, and an ear for the rhythm and melody of words, he exhibits many moods and experiments with many metres; but always he is a poet of vision, imagination and individuality. Where so many present-day writers, in prose as well as in verse, aim at reflecting the confusion and hurly-burly of modern life — at sinking their own identity in a kind of mass feeling or consciousness — Mr. Church's work is directly expressive of its writer's essential self; it reflects his own response to life, nature and experience, a response that is independent of those around him or of the countless millions of his fellow men throughout the world. In this respect a great deal of light is thrown upon him and his work by an article from the pen of his friend Frank Kendon which appeared in *John O' London's* of July 19, 1948. There the writer, from a very long friendship and an intimate knowledge of Church, shows how his verse is essentially part of himself, a projection of his personality and a refinement of his reactions to the world in which he lives. Reading the pieces in this collection one feels that their author is something of a cultured and refined solitudinarian (one section is called "The Solitary Man"), living in his converted Kentish oast-house, at one with himself, fired by curiosity yet moved by beauty in nature or human character wherever he encounters it; and he does encounter it in some most surprising places. For many of his poems the inspiration is trivial and commonplace enough, as it was with John Clare over a century earlier and as it frequently is with John Clare's editor and Mr. Church's fellow-poet of the present day, Edmund Blunden, yet in the trivial and the commonplace the poet sees something of profound significance. As compared with his earlier work the later verses show a greater mastery of diction, a surer blending of emotion, imagination and intellect, a more pronounced sense of "the still sad music of humanity"; but whether earlier or later, there is not one of these pieces that is not worthy of its place.

From Richard Church we may turn to Lilian Bowes Lyon, who for some fourteen or fifteen years has been known as a poet writing in the traditional rather than the "modern" style, with a fineness of diction, a subtlety of imagery and a graceful sense of form. Her *Collected Poems* (Cape, 8/6) brings together the best of her verses from her first volume, *The White Horse* (1934) to *A Rough Walk Home* (1946). Most of them, again, are personal in tone, many on themes taken from nature and the countryside. Social criticism, the King Charles' head of so many would-be poets nowadays, is absent, but in the later verses the impression of her spiritual and intellectual reaction to the experiences of the war years is plain to be seen. The volume is not a large one (it runs to just under 190 pages) but it is beautifully produced and there is not a single piece in it that one would wish away. It may be added that C. Day Lewis, to whose own work reference has been made above, contributes an appreciative introductory essay.

Within less than a hundred pages, too, *The Collected Poems of Edgell Rickward* (The Bodley Head, 7/6) is full of verse of a high quality and a type all its own. Mr. Rickward first came conspicuously to notice in the days of the Spanish Civil War, when he aligned himself with the Left and produced a very pointed satire *To the Wife of a Non-Interventionist Statesman*. The poem is included in the present volume, but all the rest of the pieces are of earlier date, having been written between 1918 and 1930. Every one of them — and one feels that there must have been considerable and scrupulous sifting — is characterised by sincerity, earnestness, intensity of feeling, yet at the same time by a disciplined restraint and moderation that saves their author on the one hand from that *saeva indignatio* by which many other poets of those days were carried away, and on the other from an excess of emotionalism or sentimentality. Traditional in form, these poems are nevertheless modern in idiom, imagery and theme. Mr. Rickward, like John Betjeman, to whom reference has been made above, is the poet of the town, not of the countryside — the town with its mean streets and its neon-lit shopping centres, its public houses and its cinemas, its factories and its offices, and it is from this environment that his imagery is drawn. An urban civilisation finds expression through the verse-forms, the metres and the rhythms that have been traditionally associated with the poetry of the countryside. Perhaps when we can see the period in perspective Edgell Rickward will come to be recognised as one of the significant poets writing during the decade after the first World War.

Sir John Squire belongs to an earlier age, for he is one of the few survivors of the Georgian school of poets and one of its most distinguished members. His *Selected Poems* (Oliver Moxon, 8/6) contains sixty-seven pieces representative of their author's work over the last forty years. Most of the well known poems are here, together with some not hitherto collected. They show the poet in all his moods, from gaiety and gentle raillery to elegiac solemnity and the quiet pensiveness of one who has lived a life of varied experiences and felt deeply the spiritual significance of things.

Though some of these pieces are characterised by experimental metres, generally speaking Sir John follows in the footsteps of the great English masters of versification. His language is simple yet graceful, his sympathies wide and catholic. With the passing of the years the sense of wonder at the simple and fundamental things of life has only deepened, and his conviction that the world, with all its inexhaustible store of beauty, is good to live in has become more firmly rooted. There is one poem in this collection which he entitles *Paradise Lost* and it is perhaps symbolic of all the rest of his work. Casting his mind back, much as Wordsworth did in *Tintern Abbey*, to the magic world of his youth, he concludes,

Childhood will not return; but have I not the will
To strain my turbid mind that soils all outer things,
And, open again to all the miracles of light,
To see the world with the eyes of a blind man, gaining sight?

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While we are discussing anthologies and collected editions it may not be out of place to draw attention to three notable volumes of selections from the works of older authors. *Robert Smith Surtees, Scenes and Characters, edited and Introduced by Cyril Ray* (Falcon Press, 5/—) introduces us to that admirable sporting writer of the early nineteenth century, and the creator of Mr. Jorrocks, who has undeservedly fallen into neglect over the last few generations except with a few faithful devotees. His novels, a number of which have been reprinted over the past few years, have decided merits of their own. It may be recalled that they were the favourite reading of Stalky and his cronies in Kipling's schoolboy story and of the young George Sherston in Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of a Foxhunting Man*, while one of them, *Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour*, provided Dickens with the original idea for the *Pickwick Papers*. To turn from Surtees to a person of a very different kind, *Walter Pater, Selected Works, Arranged with an Introduction by Richard Aldington* (Heinemann, 21/—) is by far the best selection from the writings of this important Victorian critic and disciple of the Art-for-Art's-Sake school that has yet appeared. Indeed, short of a new edition of his complete works one could not wish for anything better. A very long book of over 550 pages, it includes the whole of *Marius the Epicurean* and *Imaginary Portraits*, a considerable part of *The Renaissance* and excerpts from Pater's other works, some of which are today not easy of access; and as a conclusion there is Pater's own Postscript to his *Appreciations*, in which he discusses the validity and the implications of the terms "classic" and "romantic" as applied to art and poetry. Mr. Aldington's introductory essay, partly biographical but mainly critical and appreciative, is an indispensable part of the volume, for it synthesises the extracts which follow and shows how Pater's views and his style developed side by side. Written in a fine, lucid style, with sympathy and understanding but without adulation, it might itself be described as a discussion of the meaning and value of

culture, its place in society and its relevance to literature and life.

Of recent years there has been a revival of interest in the work of Edward Thomas, though up to now it has been directed chiefly towards his poetry. *The Prose Works of Edward Thomas, Selected by Roland Grant* (Falcon Press, 10/6) introduces us to the other side of his literary activity. Nearly all his prose works, in all their diversity, are here represented, from autobiography to literary criticism, and above all those delightful descriptions of the English countryside and the quiet country towns for which he is so famous. The simplicity, delicacy, depth and sensitivity of his prose style is apparent in every one of these twenty-eight pieces, chosen with taste, care and discretion; and besides a brief introduction by the editor there is a memoir of Edward Thomas by his widow, Helen Thomas. No-one who wishes to be familiar with the best in literature produced between the opening of the present century and the outbreak of the 1914 war can afford to neglect Edward Thomas. The original works, in their entirety, are not easy to come by, though a number, Mr. Grant informs us, are to be reprinted as soon as paper restrictions and the difficulties of modern publishing allow; meanwhile this is by far the best medium through which to make their acquaintance.

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The outstanding play of the year has been J. B. Priestley's *The Linden Tree* (Heinemann, 6/—), written in ten days while the author was snow-bound in the Isle of Wight during February, and subsequently acted with Lewis Casson as the hero (Professor Linden) and Sybil Thorndike as his wife. It is a study and a portrait of a family of the present day — the family of a sixty-five-year-old Professor of Modern History in a provincial university who is pressed to resign his chair on the one hand by the new Vice-Chancellor, with whom he does not see eye to eye, and on the other by members of his own family, especially his wife, who is tired of living in a dilapidated house (rented cheaply from the university authorities) in a drab industrial town. Preserving his good humour all the while, the Professor determines to stand his ground, for he feels that more is involved than a conflict between persons; it is a conflict between essentially opposed ideals, between culture and philistinism, which, as a student of history, he sees as the eternal conflict that lies behind the evolution and development of the human race and civilization themselves. But finally he has to yield to *force majeure* in the form of a compromise: he is placed on the emeritus level, so that he retains his status in the university but ceases to take any part in its teaching. For a moment his wrath blazes forth, but then he looks at things philosophically and feels some kind of consolation in reading aloud, at the request of his youngest daughter, the manuscript of an unpublished book on the philosophy of history.

The play acts well, though one must confess that as a reading piece it becomes a little tedious and much of the dialogue seems trivial. But

the test of a play, after all, is in the acting, not in the reading. There are a variety of character types, all cleverly differentiated, though again one or two are over-drawn, in particular the rather slatternly servant Mrs. Cotton, whose one topic of conversation is the damage done to her home by a bomb during the war, and Linden's daughter Marion, who has married a French aristocrat and become a Roman Catholic. But the play is more than a mere domestic portrait, for in the Linden family and their problems we have a symbolic representation of modern society, with its "spivs" (one of the professor's sons lives by his wits), its rather pathetic trust in science as a panacea for all ills, its search for a satisfying faith, its passion for planning, the decay of traditional standards of culture, the supersession of educators by educationists, and last but not least the optimism and hopefulness of youth. Perhaps the author's own point of view is expressed in an exchange of remarks between Professor Linden and Mr. Lockhart, the University Secretary, towards the end of the play: "The young and the old are the best now. ... There's a lot of rotten dead stuff in the middle. ... But perhaps there always has been, and the young and the old were always the best. Nearer the door in and the door out, and with more spirit to spare. The world's too much with the middles, who are busy looking for promotion and a seat on the board."

Not altogether unrelated in theme is St. John Ervine's *Private Enterprise* (Allen & Unwin, 6/—), first acted at the St. James' Theatre on November 25th., 1947. It is a problem play which takes as its subject the question of moral integrity and the conflict between the independent-minded, non-conforming individual and the totalitarian tendencies in the community of which he forms a part. How far should one who finds himself in Rome do as Rome does, or how far should he be expected to do so, if the Roman ways seem to him to violate some ethical, moral or religious principle which he holds sacred? Is one justified in refusing to co-operate in the declared policy of the community or with the powers that be and yet accepting, often unavoidably, the benefits which that policy confers? Is the majority entitled to impose its will upon the dissenting minority, especially upon those who dissent on conscientious grounds? These are some of the questions Mr. St. John Ervine presents for our consideration. We are introduced to the family of Edward Delaware, a factory owner and a manufacturer, of a genial disposition, who has always been a good master and well liked by his men, with the result that a sense of loyalty and understanding has grown up between employer and employed and he has managed to avoid any serious labour troubles at his works. His daughter lost her husband in the war only a month after they were married. One son was a conscientious objector who undertook very hazardous rescue work during the air-raids, while another (the black sheep of the family, who left home some years previously under a cloud) distinguishes himself and surprises everyone else by winning the V.C., suddenly becomes a hero, and then gets himself returned at a by-election as a Labour M.P., not because he has any real sympathy with the aims of the Labour Party but because Labour

is in power and he thinks he may as well swim with the tide. But all this is really the background of the play. The crisis comes when trade union officials get to work upon the employees at Delaware's factory, hitherto quite contented, and persuade them to introduce the "closed shop" policy. An elderly workman, Peter Logan, refuses on religious grounds to join the union; his employer, respecting his conscientious scruples and admiring his stand for individual liberty, declines to dismiss him, even against the advice of some of his own family and fellow-employers. The union calls a strike, both sides are adamant, and the government is about to take over the factory when Peter Logan declares his intention of emigrating to South Africa. Whether the factory is taken over or not we do not know, for the curtain is rung down on Delaware's eldest son, Philip, shouting defiance to the government "negotiators" over the telephone.

The play is obviously topical and the theme is of much wider import than the immediate situation to which it is here applied. No questions are solved or answered; they are put and are left for us to consider, though there seems no doubt on which side the author's own sympathies lie; the reader's will probably lie on the same side, though it might be argued that the author has rather prejudiced the issue by contriving that all the people who stand for tolerance or moderation are likeable, while most of those ranged on the other side are either fanatical, unprincipled, shallow, or advocates of peace at any price, even if the price is a dishonourable one. Against this, however, we have to place the fact that ultimately most of the idealists shirk the issue. Logan, regarding the whole business not as one of general principle but as a personal affair, removes himself from it by going to South Africa; Edward Delaware talks of following him, and in any case is an old man who has not many more years to live. If the worst comes to the worst he can afford to defy the unions and the government alike, stand by his principle and live on his savings. His daughter-in-law Melanie, who was at one time bitterly if unthinkingly critical of the unions, becomes a "peace-at-any-price" woman as soon as she knows she is to have a child whose future place in the firm may be imperilled if war to the end is declared; and Andrew, the erstwhile conscientious objector, in a dilemma between his loathing of strife and warfare on the one hand and his belief in the sacredness of conscience and the rights of the individual on the other, escapes to do humanitarian work in China. Is it a condemnation of the idealist, that he refuses to face up to reality? Or is it a condemnation of our present-day civilization, that there is no room in it for the idealist? Or is it, again, not a judgment at all, but just a statement of fact? Each must decide for himself.

The play holds the attention from beginning to end. Basically serious, it is not without its humour and its lighter moments. The dialogue is well sustained, the characters skilfully drawn and clearly differentiated, the theme laid bare in all its implications. Here we have the St. John Ervine which we knew in the earlier plays like *Jane Clegg*, *John Fergusson* and *The Ship*.

The list of writers who have died during the year under review is, happily, this time brief: Gordon Bottomley, poet and playwright (August 25th.), Wilfrid Meynell, essayist and a member of a distinguished literary family (October 20th.) and A. E. W. Mason, novelist (November 22nd.). Their work survives them as their memorial.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Brief Mention

Science on Parnassus. Some Eighteenth-Century Instructive Poets. Inaugural Lecture. By H. H. HOSKINS. 18 pp. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1949. f0,90.

Mr. Hoskins's lecture augurs well for his tenure of the English lectureship at Groningen University. His brief survey of the 'instructive' poems of Garth, King, Dyer, Armstrong and others is an admirable introduction to the subject, judicious, witty, and well-balanced. It shows that the exposition of English eighteenth century literature is in good hands.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

JOHN BUTT.

Periodicals Received

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Grendel's Dam and the Composition of *Beowulf*

Since Panzer's epoch-making study it has been generally recognized by the most competent *Beowulf* scholars that the hero's struggles in Heorot and in the haunted mere are 'simply an epic glorification of a folk-tale motive.'¹ What the poet really achieved with that motive and to what heights he soared when moulding it into great poetry could only be fully realized since the publication of another epoch-making study.² But though the poet transmuted his story in as high a degree as Shakespeare transcended, say, the original plot of *King Lear*, the folk-tale analogues none the less allowed some critics to throw welcome light on certain points of the *Beowulf* text. Examples are so well-known that we need not even mention them.

Now the origin of *Beowulf*'s fight with Grendel's dam is explained by critics in two different ways which exclude each other. According to the one conception, the different folk-tales and their various (especially Scandinavian) versions make it clear 'that the adventure with the mother of Grendel is not a later elaboration of the Grendel-contest' but 'an integral part of the type-story.'³ According to the other conception, the *Beowulf* poet worked up two different versions, the one relating to Grendel, the other to Grendel's dam. If we enter into the details, the number of theories considerably increases.⁴ Yet a fundamental distinction none the less subsists: either the *Beowulf* poet found the Grendel's dam motive in his story, together with Grendel — and in that case the probable combination of a set of tales including one monster with another set including two, as assumed by Klaeber, took place before the poem was written — or he started from a single monster version and himself introduced the adventure with Grendel's dam as an epic elaboration (either from another source or from his own imagination). The distinction is less trivial than it seems at first sight, for if it could be *proved* that he added the Grendel's dam motive, it would involve important consequences as to his competence — or shortcomings, for that matter. For it would mean that he failed to reach a sufficient degree of artistic and stylistic unity which alone could have made such introduction impossible to detect on internal evidence only.

From the halcyon days of the patch-work theory, the working-up of different versions by the poet himself has been propounded with more or less skill. In view of the present state of *Beowulf* studies, it would be

¹ R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf, An Introduction to the Study of the Poem*. 2nd. ed., Cambridge 1932, p. 381.

² J. R. R. Tolkien, *Beowulf, the Monsters and the Critics* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXII, 1936), London 1938.

³ W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, Cambridge (Harvard U. P.) 1930, p. 164.

⁴ See, for instance, F. Klaeber's ingenious assumption: *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd. ed., New-York 1936, p. xx.

ruine to review those different attempts, and we shall abstain from scrutinizing such testimonies of the palaeozoic era of *Beowulf* criticism. The matter has been rehandled more recently, however, by Berendsohn, in his challenging book on the pre-history of the *Beowulf* epic.⁵ His theory of the different strata to be detected in *Beowulf* has been worked out by minute stylistic investigations into a consistent web which is much more than what has been called, in reference to the 'mythologists', a 'fabric spun out of the gossamer of imagination.'⁶ Testing and discussing some of his arguments is in no way an anachronistic business. We think it worth attempting here, with as great objectivity as possible, limiting ourselves to the question of Grendel's dam.

By themselves alone, the numerous versions of the folk-tale cannot decide the issue between the two conflicting conceptions referred to above. As a result of that lack of external evidence, it is only by turning to the stylistic criterion, as has been done by Berendsohn, and above all to the artistic criterion, which has much too often been underestimated, if not completely ignored, that the attempt can possibly succeed. Though Berendsohn has written many articles to defend his ideas, we shall be concerned with his capital work only, which is his latest, if not his last, word on the subject.

To sum up his views on our point, Berendsohn thinks that the whole figure of Grendel's dam can be separated and characterized as a fragment due to the Anglian adapter. A certain number of particular points — among which the traditional 'inconsequences' — and, above all, fundamental differences in style distinguish the fight against Grendel's dam from the Grendel contest itself. So much so that the former is to be considered as 'eine stark variierte Nachbildung' of the latter,⁷ which certainly belongs to an older stratum, and the main outlines of which it is possible to reconstruct. The introduction of Grendel's dam, moreover, carried with it further modifications (concerning the festivities at the Danish Court) which cannot but confirm this assumption.

Before submitting Berendsohn's arguments to closer scrutiny, we think it necessary to stress on which point our approach to the problem differs from that critic's. Divergence in the use of methods does not, of course, necessarily presuppose diverging results, and the question remains open just as well, whether we tackle the matter from one side or from another. Now, especially when dealing with a passage of such scope as the whole fight with Grendel's dam and its consequences, we suggest that a first and essential question should be asked, before focussing one's attention on certain difficulties or incongruities in the text, and on its stylistic differences with other passages. Before interpreting such differences as proofs of multiple authorship, it might be well, indeed, to inquire what precise rôle the whole passage (or motive) in question has to play within the structure

⁵ W. A. Berendsohn, *Zur Vorgeschichte des 'Beowulf'*, Kopenhagen 1935

⁶ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 165. ⁷ Berendsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

of the poem. And this not only as concerns the broad outlines of the structure, but also questions of mood and subtle connotations inherent in any work of art. If that question is answered, the difficulties and stylistic variations within the passage will appear under quite a different angle. As an illustration we shall select a group of the more important points raised by Berendsohn as proving the existence of two different layers, and show how they are to be explained when a clear notion as to the rôle of the entire passage has been gained.

Berendsohn's main points are these. There is not the slightest hint, up to 1. 1233b, of the existence of any other monster beside Grendel; on the contrary, the latter is twice called 'ängenga' (ll. 165, 449).⁸ Then Hrothgar speaks of a demon 'dessen Wege er nicht kenne', and yet he suddenly knows with certainty that it is Grendel's avenger, and describes her abode with full particulars (1357 ff.).⁹ Decisive is the style in which the whole matter is presented to us, showing the adapter's typically disconnected and incoherent manner: thus the entry of Grendel's dam occurs in a subordinate sentence, and, though she came to avenge her son, she loses courage when the frightened Danish warriors, aroused in their sleep, hastily seize their weapons; she snatches one of them away, and only after an allusion to Beowulf not being in Heorot, we hear that she also carried away her son's 'well-known arm'.¹⁰ More disconnected still is the fight in the mere: Grendel's dam seizes Beowulf (who is protected from her claws by his armour and who cannot use his sword against sea-monsters) and forces him into her haunt; there he catches a glimpse of the hall and the light burning in it. How is it then that he is enabled to brandish his sword? Has she let him loose?¹¹ The sword does not

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹¹ This has long been recognized, indeed, as a genuine discrepancy, and is explained by Chambers in the following way: 'The version which makes Beowulf enter the hall and attack is found in the *Grettis saga*, agreeing even to the detail of the fire, by the light of which the hero sees the monster. The version which makes the monster grapple with Beowulf as he enters the water from above, so that he is dragged to the bottom, powerless for the moment to use his weapons, has now . . . been rediscovered in the *Samsons saga*. What is blurred in *Beowulf* comes out clear in the other versions: two inconsistent accounts have been combined in the Old English, but each left its descendants in their original Scandinavian home.' (*op. cit.*, p. 472).

Such interpretation is quite likely; yet we suggest that the combination — which was effected to increase the grim and thrilling aspect of the fight and make it more dramatic — was not actually felt by the contemporary reader, or listener, as an inconsequence. We have two different situations following each other and implying a certain opposition: in the first, Beowulf seems to be completely taken by surprise and, as long as he is being dragged away within the water, unable to 'wield his weapons'; once the demon has him within her hall 'bær him nænig wæter wihte ne scepede / nē him hrōfsele hrinan ne mehte / færgripe flōdes' (1514-16; and too little attention has indeed been paid to that hostile rôle of the water which is here so clearly mentioned) he is enabled to react, and his counter-attack seems to be made easier by his seeing at last his adversary clearly. To 'ne mihte . . . wæpna gewældan', in the first plight, is contrasted 'maegenræs forgeaf / hildebille' (1508-9; 1519-20) which anyway suggests a tremendous effort of which he was first incapable, when suddenly gripped within the hostile element. And

avail, he throws it to the ground and trusts his own grip. There, in the middle of the fight, the sentence 1534b-36 is awkwardly introduced. And how strange it is, actually, that Grendel's dam should give him so much trouble when it was said of her (1282b-87) that she inspired less terror than a man! Be that as it may, there follows a hard struggle in which Beowulf would have perished had he not been saved by God, who allowed him to rise again and take hold of the miraculous sword. God's help, at the critical moment, again betrays the hand of the adapter who, on the whole, imitated the Grendel contest in its main outlines, thus to enlarge his narrative. If the whole business of Grendel's dam is suppressed, then the original Grendel plot is revealed in its clearness and unity.¹² Furthermore, owing to his introduction of Grendel's mother, the adapter added a third festivity to the original two of the Grendel plot. It is clear that the former was given at Beowulf's reception, the latter only after his ultimate victory over Grendel, after the pursuit in the mere: then only did the adoption take place. In our poem we have likewise a great feast, with the adoption, after the Grendel contest. Beowulf, however, has not yet done with the Grendel race, and we rather expect that an even greater feast should take place on his return from the mere; now only is the whole adventure happily ended, together with the distress of the Danes; moreover the hero is taking his leave. But we are greatly disappointed: after Beowulf's report of his fight we have Hrothgar's long sermon, the feast is dispatched in two and a half lines — without *Wealhtheow* playing any part in it, without even a minstrel's song — and the ceremony of presenting Beowulf with the promised gifts in two lines, a poor narrative indeed. The adapter obviously lacked the capacity of representing three festivities one after another. Berendsohn then stresses again how clear and connected the original plot is, once we do away with the Grendel's dam motive and the Anglian adapter's confused presentation.¹³

We must now revert to the important question which we think it essential to try and solve in order to see the many difficulties of the problem in a proper perspective: namely that of the rôle to be attributed to the whole passage within the structure of the poem. The best starting-point is provided by Klaeber's comments concerning the remarkable gradation to be observed in the three great fights: 'The fight against Grendel is rather monotonous and seems altogether too short and easy to give much opportunity for excitement — in spite of the horrors of the darkness in which the scene is enacted. The second contest is vastly more interesting by reason of its elaborate, romantic scenery, the variety and definiteness of incidents, the dramatic quality of the battle. The hero is fully armed, uses

the opposition is further emphasized by the remark *'hond sweng ne oftēah'* (1520): this time the 'hand did not deny the blow', i.e., as it had done a moment before. To say the least, a perceptible change in the situation is implied, and Beowulf's plight has become a little less hopeless — which, of course, makes the following climax in the dam's attack all the more dramatic.

¹² Berendsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 65. ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

weapons in addition to his "hand-grip," and yet is so hard pressed that only a kind of miracle saves him. There is, moreover, an element of justice in representing the combat with Grendel's mother as more formidable and pregnant with danger. Grendel, who has ravaged the hall because of the innate wickedness of his heart, deserves to be overcome without difficulty. His mother, on the contrary, is actuated by the laudable desire for revenge.... and, besides, is sought out in her own home; hence a certain amount of sympathy is manifestly due her. Finally, the dragon (who likewise has a kind of excuse for his depredations) is entirely too much for his assailant. We tremble for the venerable king. He takes a special measure for protection...., and is strengthened by the help of a youthful comrade, but the final victory is won only at the cost of the hero's own life.¹⁴ It is clear that such gradation is of great importance artistically, inasmuch as it provides a subtle link between the 'Grendel part' and the 'Dragon part'. Yet we may go one step further and consider that the very existence of that gradation implicitly carries with it the consequence that the fight with Grendel's dam, being thus linked not only with the Grendel fight but also with the Dragon fight, represents in some way, from the artistic viewpoint, a transition between the two great crises. The great shift in the mood, as well as in the outcome, between the hero's first and last struggle is indeed prepared by the adventure with Grendel's dam. The way in which this is effected is worth looking into.

It has long been recognized that an entire lack of the element of surprise characterizes the adventures in *Beowulf*. As Klaeber summed it up, 'it is not a little remarkable that in the account of the three great fights of the hero, care has been taken to state the outcome of the struggle in advance.'¹⁵ With reference to Grendel's dam, however, this statement needs some qualification, and on closer examination the situation is actually quite different. In the case of the Grendel fight, we have at least three instances in which an allusion to the outcome of the fight is made, clearly enough, before the fight itself has really begun (696-700, 706-7, 734-36). The first of these alone, 'Ac him Drvhten forðeaf / wīgspēða gewiofu' would have been sufficient to make it perfectly clear who was to achieve victory. Similarly, long before the actual outset of the fight with the Dragon, three passages clearly tell us of the hero's imminent death (2310-11, 2341-44, 2420-23). One of them even goes so far as to state that both adversaries were doomed to lose their lives in the contest. Such repeated anticipations not only make us perfectly aware of the result of the coming crises, but even lead us to suspect something of the character of the struggle: in the Grendel fight we cannot but expect a decisive victory and a real superiority on the hero's side; in the case of the Dragon fight, on the contrary, we have every intimation of a desperate struggle against an adversary quite as powerful as, if not more so than, the hero. How is the situation in the case of Grendel's dam? There is not the slightest allusion as to the

¹⁴ Klaeber, *op. cit.*, p. lii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lvii.

outcome of the struggle before it is in full swing; in fact, the only 'anticipation' we have takes place *towards the end* of the fight, when the hero seems lost — and this to introduce the magical apparition of the sword (1550-55). Indeed, it is hardly an anticipation, as it is almost simultaneous with that decisive event. In the other cases, anticipations as to the result of the crisis were repeated, and well in advance: here, it is only when the full force of the demon's attack has practically overcome the hero, that the unexpected reversal is introduced.

We think it obvious, therefore, that an element of surprise was intended. First as to the very existence of Grendel's dam. One of Berendsohn's arguments is precisely based on the fact that there is not the slightest mention of her up to l. 1233.¹⁶ Now if the author had wanted to, nothing would have been easier for him than to provide one or several allusions to her existence before. This would have been perfectly in keeping with what Berendsohn repeatedly calls the Anglian adapter's 'reflektierenden Art'. We must assume that there was a reason why he carefully omitted any reference to Grendel's dam. Had there been the slightest hint of her existence before, one does not see very well how the festivities following the victory over Grendel could have taken place — when half of the task only was completed — and we shall see that he had good grounds to have them exactly at that juncture. Secondly, the element of surprise also consists in the real difficulty of the fight with Grendel's dam. And this, we suggest, gives us the best clue to the structural value of the whole passage. Such difficulty is enhanced by contrast with the relative easiness of the victory over Grendel, as well as with the other achievements of the hero, of which we incidentally hear. So far, everything we heard, or saw, concerning our hero, contributed to his glorification, indeed, made him of a different cast from any other man. The culminating point is reached in the sweeping victory over the monster which had harried the Danes for such a long time, and simply could not be faced by any of the Danish warriors. What the author wanted to show us and to emphasize in that first great crisis, was what we might call 'Beowulf triumphans'.

Now the sudden and startling surprise at the deadly hardness of the fight with Grendel's dam, the awareness that the hero was practically vanquished before some kind of miracle saved him *in extremis*, such a narrow escape,¹⁷ all this gives us a *first intimation of his ultimate vulnerability* — though he is supreme among all men as a fighter of monsters. And here, the rôle of fate is particularly important. The hero is not yet doomed — therefore we have the magical apparition of the sword to save him at a moment when he seemed lost. This sword shows him, poetically, in the hands of fate (or God, for that matter). The poet introduced this motive to materialize divine intervention, to render it tangible in a striking

¹⁶ Berendsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁷ Hæfde ðā forsiðod sunu Ecgþēowes
Under gynne grund, Gēata cempa. (1550-51)

way; had he merely referred to God's help, it would not have sounded much more than a formula. We thus feel vividly that by himself alone, in spite of his former victory and extraordinary strength, the hero could hardly have overcome Grendel's dam. We have here, as it were, a real omen which is to get its full significance only in the first clear foreboding of his death (a consequence of an inexorable doom) before the Dragon fight:

sceolde lændaga
 æþeling ærgōd ende gebīdan,
 worulde lifes.¹⁸

In that sense we can say that such a crisis announces the final dramatic outcome of the hero's last adventure (without in the least alienating our sympathy and admiration for him) and thus serves as a subtle transition between the Grendel and the Dragon fights. Over Grendel, Beowulf achieved a crushing victory. Against the Dragon, victory is only obtained at the cost of the hero's death. With its first, but unmistakable, connotation of possible defeat, the victory over Grendel's dam, from whose claws the hero escaped by the skin of his teeth, structurally links both great adventures into a more effective whole. Beowulf's triumph, Beowulf's narrow escape, Beowulf's death — the tragic gradation of the three fights is striking. Through them, however, one thing remains unchanged: Beowulf's heroism. And we know that this is perhaps the greatest lesson conveyed by the poem.¹⁹

It is worth while to show how this conception of the structural rôle of the fight illuminates some points which had, so far, appeared difficult, if not incomprehensible. We have suggested that this connotation of possible defeat, or intimation of the hero's ultimate vulnerability, that looms behind the crisis are a consequence of the ominous difficulty of the fight against Grendel's dam — a difficulty that the author took care should come to us as an absolute surprise. This effect is glaring enough if we compare it to the deliberate and repeated use of anticipation that characterizes the other fights. Yet it has been carefully enhanced by the contrast between the first apparition of the monster and her unexpected and formidable offensive power. It has been unanimously wondered at (and considered a flagrant inconsistency) that the poet remarked, on the dam's apparition in the hall, that, being a woman, she inspired less terror than a man,²⁰ and that she, who came to avenge her son, should flee when the retainers

¹⁸ *Beowulf*, ll. 2341-43.

¹⁹ Now is it not particularly significant that one of the clearest formulations of such a lesson should be put in the hero's mouth just when he is setting out on his way to the mere, to seek out and fight Grendel's dam? —

Ūre æghwylc sceal ende gebīdan
 worolde lifes; wyrce sē þe mōte
 dōmes ær dēaþe. (1386-88)

²⁰ *Beowulf*, ll. 1282-84

hurriedly took up their weapons against her. After such appearance and hasty retreat — though she managed to snatch a retainer away, together with Grendel's arm — we of course expect another sweeping victory from the hero against her, so that the effect of surprise is much greater. That it was really intended is obvious if we but think, not only of the unusual lack of anticipation already mentioned, but also of the fact that in the Scandinavian parallels with two monsters the hero's fight is in no way harder in the case of the female.²¹

Finally, that the surprising difficulty of the second fight in *Beowulf* is of importance is also shown by the hero's full emphasis on it in his report to Hrothgar and by his later reference to it in his speech to Hygelac. As Beowulf exclaims:

Ic þæt unsōfte ealdre gedigde,
wigge under wætere, weorc genēþde
earfoðlice; ætrihthe wæs
gūð getwāfed, nymðe mec God scylde.²²

He then stresses the miraculous apparition of the 'ealdsweord ēacen' which saved his life. The passage takes up practically one half of the speech. To Hygelac, of course, the report is shorter, yet, almost five hundred lines after the present speech we have a curiously similar expression concerning his survival in the fight: 'unsōfte þonan / feorh oðferede,'²³ which immediately calls to mind the speech to Hrothgar. The link is unmistakable and takes its full value in the following brief retrospect of the lesson conveyed by the crisis: 'næs ic fæge þā gýt.'²⁴ Such a statement of course implies some gloomy forebodings as to the outcome of the next crisis, and thus provides a further link this time with the anticipations of the hero's doom in the Dragon fight.

²¹ Even if it is admitted that the poet intentionally showed her in a less terrible form to make, as a foil, her formidable attack on Beowulf more striking, it might still be retorted that her attitude in the raid against the hall is decidedly too much in contradiction with her real power as it is revealed in the fight with the hero. Now the situation, as it is presented by the poet, makes of course all the difference and allows him to use the contrast without real incongruity.

Her attitude in the raid should be connected with the peculiar character of such demons' attacks (as typified in *Beowulf*, as well as in many a Scandinavian parallel): they are always carried out at night, when the warriors are asleep; they are stealthy, quick, and, to be quite effective, require complete surprise; even when they are successful, the demons always seem to disappear after a comparatively short time; one feels as if they act only if they can be sure that the men in the hall are asleep — and that is why Beowulf, as well as Grettir, have to lie down on a resting place as if they were actually sleeping, when they watch for the troll's appearance (and this incidentally explains why they have to be careful not to make the first thrust themselves, but to wait until they are grasped by the demon, even if another man is killed in the meantime, as was the case with Hondscioh: otherwise, if discovered, the demons are sure to beat a hasty retreat). When a demon is attacked in his own lair, the situation, of course, entirely changes, and a different attitude is to be expected.

²² *Beowulf*, ll. 1655-58.

²³ *Ibid.*, ll. 2140-41.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 2141b.

That the artistic effect of the Grendel's dam section has been worked out even in matters of slightest detail is shown by the way in which the demon's entrance into the hall is effected. It occurs in that subordinate sentence which Berendsohn seemed to think rather awkward. Now we suggest it was calculated to make it at the same time more abrupt and more insidious: the rhythm of the two lines, with the two strong succeeding enjambments (the only ones in a passage of some twenty-five lines) is so conceived as to lay particular stress on the two important half-lines of similar A type, 'edhwyrft eorlum' and 'Grendles mōdor.'²⁵ The former emphasizes the abrupt reversal in the whole situation at the Danish court — everything is to begin over again. The latter, owing to its place in the sentence, is to give to this her first attack something more furtive.

It would be curious indeed — in view of such glimpses of the poet's art — that so-called inconsistencies should have been suffered to mar the effect of the Grendel's dam motive (not to speak of their being considered as proofs of an interpolation). As a matter of fact, when the immediate effect of such passages is taken into account, inconsistencies are found to be of no greater purport than those which sometimes occur in Shakespeare's plays. Berendsohn, as we have seen, makes much of the fact that Grendel was twice called 'āngenga', and that, furthermore, Hrothgar does not seem to know where the dam fled with her prey, though he vividly describes, later on, the abode of the Grendel race. Now the description of Grendel as a solitary demon goes together with, and is almost as necessary a piece of characterization as, say, his violent hatred of the music and rejoicings in the hall. It is sharply opposed to the warriors' delight in social entertainment and convivial congress at Hrothgar's court. It goes as far back as the curse of Cain, who is the ultimate progenitor of the Grendel race, who went away outlawed and (mark the emphasis) 'fleeing from joy among men.'²⁶ The mention of people then telling Hrothgar that there were two monsters is not actually felt in contradiction

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 1281-82. If we adopt Professor Pope's annotation (and his theory of initial rest), the lines:

Dā ðær sōna wearð
edhwyrft eorlum, siþðan inne fealh
Grendles mōdor

would be transcribed as follows (the down stroke of the last note of l. 2 should have been printed separately):



The exact symmetry of the measures is striking enough. Cf. J. C. Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf, An Interpretation of the Normal and Hypermetric Verse-Forms in Old English Poetry*, New Haven (Yale U.P.), 1942.

²⁶ 'mandream fleôn' (1264).

with it: never are these monsters seen in twos or threes (the nickers, for that matter, seem to be of a more social disposition), never do they appear to make a single raid together, and they really deserve to be called 'āngenga', being always alone.

As to Hrothgar's description of the haunted mere, its effect is calculated to emphasize the uncouth, mysterious and disquieting character of anything connected with the monsters, and is especially apposite just when the hero is about to be requested to betake himself to the 'fearful place'.²⁷ Though clearly referred to as the dwelling-place of the 'evil spirits', and though it appears later as the actual refuge of the dam, the mere, at that moment, is simply one of many possible retreats to which the monster might have fled, a typical haunt of the cursed brood. This does seem implicit, to say the least, if we remember that 'Hie dýgel lond / warigead wulfhleopu'²⁸ immediately follows the account of what Hrothgar heard from 'selerædende', and that it may therefore be considered that Hrothgar's description is likewise based on hearsay. It is not really incompatible with his telling before that he did not know where the dam 'took her journey back' (which added to the furtive aspect of her attack); though he has heard of the monster's living in such an awesome place, he in no way seems certain that she did flee there. A double confirmation of this point is to be found a few lines afterwards. On Hrothgar's inviting Beowulf to follow the monster, the hero resolutely answers:

Aris, rices weard, uton hraþe fēran,
Grendles māgan gang scēawigan.²⁹

He does not say 'let us go to the mere and do you lead us there,' but 'let us go and look at the *tracks* of Grendel's kin' (i.e., to find out whereto she fled). And then, when they are on their way, the poet again insists on this point: 'Lāstas wæron / æfter waldswaþum wīde gesýne'³⁰ — the *traces* were visible, leading to the dark moors and taking them over *unknown* ways.³¹ Secondly, Beowulf's words

nō hē on helm losað,
nē on foldan fæþm, nē on fyrgeholt,
nē on gyfenes grund, gā þær hē wille!³²

make it obvious that there were many possible haunts to which the dam might have escaped.

A last important question, concerning the structure of the Grendel's dam section, is that of the festivities, as it was raised by Berendsohn. Here again we suggest that our conception of the artistic value of the Grendel's dam motive leads us to a better appraisal of the whole problem. The fact that after Beowulf's victory over Grendel's dam — which is a final

²⁷ 'sēc gif þū dyrre!' (1379). ²⁸ *Beowulf*, ll. 1357-58. ²⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 1390-91.
³⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 1402-3. ³¹ 'uncūð gelād', l. 1410. ³² *Ibid.*, ll. 1392-94.

victory over the whole Grendel brood this time — and on the eve of his departure from Denmark, the festivities are much less important and honorific than after the Grendel fight, is explained by Berendsohn as the result of an interpolation by the Anglian adapter. Having already expatiated on two such scenes at the Danish court, the adapter apparently grew tired, or was lacking in imagination, when confronted with a third one (necessitated by his introduction of the fight with Grendel's dam), and, dispatching it in a few lines, made the whole business rather lame.³³

This might have been easily averted by shifting the great feast which followed the Grendel fight after the final victory over Grendel's dam. Yet we think that the author had good reasons to enter into an elaborate description of the rejoicings at Heorot precisely after the Grendel fight, and to be content with a much soberer account after the second fight. The main difference is this: in the first case the festivities are described at length, in the second, without their being less important as such, they are merely mentioned, and therefore the effect of glamour in which they are steeped much less conspicuous (though the 'triumphal return' to Heorot provides some counterpart). And this is exactly what the poet wanted. This striking difference in glamour indeed goes together with the mood which underlies the second fight. The first fight had to show us 'Beowulf triumphans', and this without any restriction, and the festivities which followed it should rightly come as a full and brilliant crowning of the heroic deed. There was not yet a single shadow in the whole picture, and the full account of the highest honours heaped upon the hero in the splendid ceremony at the royal court is the culminating point of the 'Beowulf triumphans' motive — which is the essential aspect of the Grendel fight.

Now the second fight, we remember, has to play a different part in the economy of the poem. As both a preparation and a transition to the final deadly fight, it is not only much more difficult than the first, but leaves behind it just a smack of possible defeat. It was therefore the poet's purpose that though Beowulf was victorious of course, and feasted, there should yet loom behind such victory a faint shadow — a connotation of danger, a lurking sense (or prefiguration) of the inexorability of fate which was to assume such terrible proportions in the Dragon fight. A vivid evocation of the great festivities would have practically suppressed such a lingering mood. As it is, the impression persists, and then Hrothgar's sermon, by emphasizing the stern responsibilities of the hero as a future ruler, provides yet another transition to the last great and tragic section of the poem, which might be entitled 'Beowulf Rex, and the Fight with the Dragon'. Artistically, the minor key in which the last group of festivities has been treated is thoroughly justified, and reveals the subtle hand of the poet.

We have now wandered a good way from the initial issue as to whether

³³ Berendsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69.

the author found the motive of Grendel's dam in his story together with Grendel, or started from a single monster's tale and introduced the motive himself, as an epic elaboration. It is obvious that our inquiry leaves that question entirely open. Yet we hope that it has made the following conclusions sufficiently convincing: first, that the question cannot, without definite external evidence, be solved; indeed, the use of the artistic criterion shows that one alternative is as likely as the other, and, what is more important, that the point is really quite immaterial. And this because, whatever the motive originally was, the poet has given it an important and effective rôle within the structure of the poem. A rôle which, artistically, cannot be underestimated and which proves, beyond cavil, that when composing *Beowulf*, the poet had a perfectly clear vision of how the motive of Grendel's dam had to be used to achieve its real and indispensable effect within the great epic.

We suggest that such a conception of the structural rôle of the Grendel's dam section and all its implications, cannot but help us to a better understanding of the organic unity of *Beowulf*.

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Between and Among

An Attempt at an Explanation

I

The study of prepositions has rightly been considered an important one by grammarians. Yet the subject seems to have been treated almost exclusively from a practical point of view (compilation of examples, idiomatic phrases etc.). In the field of theoretical analysis, e.g. classification of types, much remains to be done.

Thus dictionaries seem curiously vague in their definitions of *between*. It is sometimes said that the original restriction to relations involving only two elements still tends to be observed. An analysis of the various usages of *between* must therefore, among other things, examine the scope and nature of this 'tendency', and, in view of the fact that *among* is said to be used about several elements, cannot exclude *among*.

An investigation of a large number of examples of *between* seems to show that two well-defined types appear. Numerous examples — concrete in the sense that they all signify one element with relation to either side or one element with relation to another — fall readily within these two

categories, the rest representing more difficult cases. Yet a closer analysis seems to reveal a curious harmony.

Concrete Types. As mentioned above, it is possible primarily to distinguish two different usages:

1° a midway concept: 'the house between the two lakes', 'do it between them':

$$O > < O.$$

2° a frontal concept: 'the difference between this lake and the other', 'distinguish between A and B':

$$O > O, O < O.$$

The first usage: 'he must keep between the French and their objective' (C. S. Forester: *Ship of the Line* 272) implies 'something between', 'something in common'. It is often curiously spatial, even figuratively, where it denotes a mutual result or a midway position ('rank between').

The second usage: 'the contrast between the present weather and the tranquil skies and calm sea' (ib. 265) implies 'nothing between', 'nothing in common'. It is primarily functional, hence sometimes less easy to conceive as spatial: 'moving from one to the other'. Figuratively it denotes separation, distinction, choice ('choose between'), i.e. a one-way movement.

For reference purposes these two types will be termed positive and negative respectively.

Complex Type. Besides these two concrete usages a more complicated type is found, the reciprocal: 'the stretch of railway between these two points' (Conan Doyle *Stories* 557), 'letters passing between them', 'the understanding between them':

$$O \longleftrightarrow O.$$

This type is a synthesis of the midway and the frontal types. It is both a midway concept (like 'the house between the two lakes'), but extended, and a frontal idea ('distinguish between A and B'), but two-sided. It might be said either that the midway idea ($O > < O$), influenced by the frontal idea ($O > O$), has become frontal to two sides ($O < > O$), or that the frontal idea ($O > O$), influenced by the midway idea ($O > < O$), has become a midway front ($O < > O$). But in reality either of these views is one-sided. The complex idea is at the same time a midway idea and a front idea. It is not exclusively midway as it denotes function to and fro, and not one-sidedly frontal as it implies reciprocity. The dual idea, in short, is complex. Spatially, this is seen as two versus two with complications, i.e. not merely *ab* versus *cd* (as in 'between my parents and yours'), but, for instance, *ab* versus *cd* and at the same time

ac versus *db*, or, another example, *ab* versus *cd* and at the same time *ac* versus *bd*: 'the four soldiers, with the Italian prisoner between them' (Stanley Rogers: Hazards of War 96), 'the sail was stretched between the four trees' (C. S. Forester: Flying Colours):

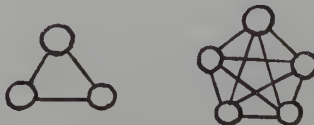


i.e. four elements confronted two and two so that the two pairs are bound together by the same midway element or are themselves split by an opposition within themselves. The essential thing here is balance, not two constant elements, i.e. the dual idea may alternate ('now from this angle, now from that'). These cases are positive and negative at the same time: In the first instance it can be said that the pairs *ad* and *cb* form fronts that intersect or that the pairs have a common midway element; in the second that *ad* are midway elements in relation to *bc* and vice versa ('diagonal view') or that *ab* form a front against *cd* (*ac* against *bd*) ('parallel view').

Selective Type. Distinct from these three types is a fourth which does not signify one element with relation to either side or one element with relation to another or two elements reciprocally related to each other, but: 'one element individually related to several':



As is well known, *between* can be used about more than two elements when each is individually related to the rest. This usage, now fully legitimate, is exceptional, 'excrement' or marginal, only from an historical point of view: 'the different relations existing between p, s, and q' (Keynes: Treatise on Probability 347), 'closer political association between the five states' (Times Weekly 9/6 1948):



It is impossible to call this type positive as there is no real midway idea. It is equally impossible to term it negative as there is no front. Nor is this type complex because the dual idea is not grossly conceived as balance between blocks. It does not merely imply 'to and fro', but connects each element to others severally or individually.

To this type belong the following examples, which cannot be said to involve only two elements, or rather, where it depends upon the view taken whether two elements or more may be said to be involved. To a formal conception they are a plurality, but 'in reality' — from the point of view of concrete interaction — they are two. The dual idea, however, is not frontal or midway, but analytic: 'one dealing with many'. This type is frequently found in writings dealing with abstract relations — many in Keynes: *Treatise on Probability* —, less frequently in ordinary texts or everyday language (which may be one of the reasons why it is sometimes considered merely a 'tendency'): 'Whatever the exact meaning of inference may be, it certainly does not hold between *all* pairs of true propositions' (Keynes 118)/ 'the divisions and conflicts between the various parts of Christendom' (Belloc: *History of England* III 334)/ 'the influence of nationalistic idolatry is now so strong that every contact between nations threatens to produce discord' (Huxley: *Ends and Means* 43)/ 'Recognizing him by the cut as being a medical student, I took advantage of the freemasonry which exists between members of that profession' (Conan Doyle *Stories* 1069)/ 'The fullest collaboration between all nations' (The *Atlantic Charter*)/ 'The idea of a closer relationship between the countries of western Europe was raised during the war' (*Times Weekly* 28/1 48).

Needless to say that four elements may also occur, but not — as in the complex type — in the form of balance (two versus two): 'A strong physique, a resolute nature, a medical training, and a knowledge of beetles — what connection could there be between these various requisites?' (Conan Doyle *Stories* 573).

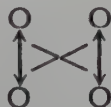
II

Now it is interesting to analyse the transitions between, on the one hand, the concrete and the complex usages, on the other, the concrete and the selective types.

Concrete v. Complex. The complex type, containing two components, may shift the emphasis to either of them. Thus two subtypes appear, the positive-complex type and the negative-complex type.

Positive-complex Type:

'a great avenue between old and shady trees' (Wells: *Short Stories* 169):



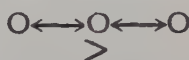
This type suggests the positive type ('something between'), but instead of the simple idea of one on either side, the more complicated idea of a two-row system is seen, i.e. balance.

To this type belong examples which have been difficult to consider as

positive, i.e. as fully analogous to 'one element between two'. Examples like: 'the knees he held between his teeth' (Wells: ib 125)/ 'his nose between his knuckles' (ib 134)/ 'a white and shining road between the singing nightingales' (ib 162)/ 'the little man ran down into its waters between the thin black rushes' (ib 162) cannot be satisfactorily explained by 'between one rush (nightingale, tooth) and another'. What is given here is a line cutting through something, i.e. a midway conception plus balanced blocks or parts as in: 'The heath road had run between neat and ordered country' (J. Jefferson Farjeon: House of Shadows 63). This explains a much-debated example: 'He was seen between the trees of the forest'.

Negative-complex Type.

'with long pauses between the sentences' (Wells: Short Stories 288):



This type is related to the negative type on account of the one-way idea, but instead of the simple concept of 'from one to the other', the more complicated idea of a one-row system comes in, i.e. succession with balance, or rhythm. It is not unrelated to the positive type because it is complex. Yet there is a marked difference.

The negative-complex examples are different from the positive type in that they involve a distribution (negative) of several elements (complex). The negative-complex type ('one and one and one and one, etc.') cannot be said to be a mere repetition of the positive type ('one and one, one and one, one and one, etc.') because the first and the last elements are different from the intervening elements. These all imply a two-front idea, while the first and the last elements are frontal to one side only.

To this type belong examples like the following: 'between toasts there was music' (Forester: Commodore Hornblower 152) / 'the difference between the markers of the line' (ib 85)/ 'the partitions between these three rooms were thin' (J. H. Jackson: Murder Book 320)/ 'transverse to the length of the hall were innumerable tables. Between the tables was scattered a great number of cushions' (Wells: Short Stories 34)/ 'the rope lashed the water between his pulls' (ib 265).

As in the positive-complex type it depends on the point of view whether two or more elements may be said to be involved. Several are tied together in a series (complex), but any two isolated elements imply the movement from one to the other (negative).

In the two-row system the minimum number is four, in the one-row system the minimum number is three, as seen in successions like: 'between each stroke' (Wells: Short Stories 357, 470)/ 'with a pause between each rhythmic turn' (Conan Doyle Stories 951)/ 'between each round' (ib 40)/ 'with a few yards between each' (Stanley Rogers: Hazards of War 184). It is not possible to say 'between each stroke' when there are only two strokes.

Concrete v. Selective. The selective type being neutral has no subtypes. The concrete usages, however, may be said to have the selective type in embryo.

From the positive: In 'do it between them' the midway concept may become a centre of agreement, i.e. a third element involved: 'He and Bush and Browne between them could handle one of those boats with ease' (Forester: *Flying Colours* 185)/ 'They were big boats, all three of them, carrying at least a hundred and fifty men between them' (ib 216)/ 'Everything was decided between them (three) by the vote, the one who found himself in the minority always submitting' (Conan Doyle *Stories* 1132). Hence even a greater number: 'We have half a dozen needlewomen in the house, from Marie here to little Christine the cook's daughter. It would be odd if between them they could not make uniforms for you and your assistants' (Forester: *Flying Colours* 147).

From the negative: In 'choose between them' the frontal concept may become two-sided without implying reciprocity, i.e. involve three elements in all: 'choose between coming out and fighting the landing party, or retreating towards St. Petersburg, or being shut in completely in the town' (Forester: *Commodore Hornblower* 225)/ 'These rouleaux were neatly put into cigar-boxes and distributed between a travelling trunk, a Gladstone bag, and a hat-box' (Wells: *Short Stories* 1058). Hence even a greater number: 'The money was divided equally between the crew' (Wyld: *Universal English Dictionary*, sub: *between*).

III

There is a certain similarity between the positive and the complex types in that they both easily call forth spatial conceptions, and there is a certain similarity between the negative and the neutral usages in that both primarily indicate function.

There is a complementary contrast between the positive and the negative types, the midway idea ('one element with relation to either side') versus the front idea ('one element with relation to the other'). There is a dimensional contrast between the neutral and the complex usages. The complex type implies an opposition within itself: the midway and the front ideas — the dual concept is synthetic, not analytic —, the neutral type, on the other hand, raised above the midway and front ideas, gives simply connection or opposition between multiple elements individually or analytically. This difference between a synthetic and an analytical dual idea is seen in: 'It was too late to turn back, and the only thing to do was to put on a bold face. Frenay walked straight between the four men' (Stanley Rogers: *Hazard of War* 173) versus: 'the difference between the five men'. In the former (or 'spatial') example the concept of balance is seen (as in: 'the prisoner between the four soldiers'), which could only be used of four, never of five. In the latter the elements are related individually or severally, hence any number. In an analytic example like: 'agreement between the

four powers would close the breach between east and west' (Times Weekly 28/1 48) there is no balance or block idea ('two versus two'); each of the four is related individually to the others.

The selective type can, in principle, take an unlimited number of elements, implying resemblance or distinction between each of them: 'Hume rightly maintains that some degree of resemblance must always exist between the various instances upon which a generalisation is based' (Keynes: Treatise on Probability 222)/ 'This continuity of type, this absence of absolute specific distinction between the members of the solar system, means to the astronomer what the similar facts of living things mean to the biologist' (Harmsworth: Popular Science II 1261). The elements are always analysed individually. Hence the important difference between *between* and *among*.

While *between* maintains the distinction of several elements, i.e. as units capable of being conceived as related to each other individually, *among* implies elements not as individuals but taken together mixed or mingled; the units are more or less fused together more or less coherent. They constitute 'a dead mass', i.e. an aggregate: 'Among the mass of long-delayed mail from England' (Forester: Commodore Hornblower 270)/ 'Before he (General Rommel) could re-concentrate to meet the threat from a new direction, the 1st and the 10th Armoured Divisions were among him' (Commager: Second World War 166)/ 'among a forest of moss-like and lichenous trees' (Wells: Short Stories 706)/ 'among his taxidermic material' (ib 699)/ 'among other stuff' (ib 1023)/ 'among the carelessly heaped lumber of old times' (ib 830)/ 'among a heap of papers' (Conan Doyle Stories 16)/ 'among a litter of periodicals' (ib 1060)/ 'among the wire cordage' (ib 871)/ 'among the melancholy wreckage spewed up by sunken ships' (Stanley Rogers: Hazards of War 92)/ 'among the thick growth that overhung the water' (Wells: Short Stories 359), i.e. as something sticking together so as to form a kind of area: 'the hound was thrown several feet into the air, and fell howling among the cover' (Conan Doyle Stories 119)/ 'The bag must have fallen among some bramble patch where it is still concealed' (ib 607). The distinguishing power of *between* and the cohesive power of *among* are further seen in constructions with two objects: 'between x and y', 'among x and y'. The *and* after *between* is correlative, the *and* after *among* accumulative: 'between blacks and whites' opposes the two parties, 'among blacks and whites' means 'among a plurality of objects, some black and some white'. If the two objects after *among* are meant to denote two distinct pluralities *either* or *both* must be added to show the correlative character of *and*: 'there is never a member of that Church among either officers or crew' (Conan Doyle Stories 348) corresponding to: '...always a member of that Church among both officers and crew'. The elements of *among* may be called passive in the sense that they are not individually involved, not 'organized'¹: 'I pretended to be

¹ I owe this expression, as well as other valuable suggestions, to Professor Bodelsen.

a journalist. There were plenty of newspaper men around.. I managed to mingle among them' (J. Jefferson Farjeon: Room No. 6, 137)/ 'I walked among them and avoided them' (Wells: Short Stories 87), but the elements of *between* are individually involved and in this respect active: 'He and Bush and Browne between them could handle one of those boats with ease' (Forester: Flying Colours 185)/ 'We have half a dozen needlewomen in the house, from Marie here to little Christine the cook's daughter. It would be odd if between them they could not make uniforms for you and your assistants' (ib 147). Here no element can possibly be passive, as in 'kill him among them'. If in 'It was too late to turn back, and the only thing to do was to put on a bold face. Frenay walked straight between the four men, and as he passed he heard one of them say, "Is that him?"' *among* is substituted, the activity ('tension') is at once lost. This is apparent even in the case of a division: 'No regular watch was kept by me, except in cases of emergency, and the three mates divided the watches among them' (Conan Doyle Stories 331), i.e. the division is more like a joint covering of an area than a distribution of exact portions. In a three-element object implying interrelation *between* is used: 'ridiculous mystic speculations about spiritual relationships between himself and the Count and el Supremo' (Forester: Flying Colours 139), but *among* if the object is depicted as a total or aggregate: 'among them they forced the mad creature back into a cabin and turned the key upon her. Then the three sank panting into their chairs' (Conan Doyle Stories 277), i.e. a pooling of resources.

It is generally said that *between* is used about two elements, *among* about higher numbers. This is clearly insufficient.

If *among* was correctly defined as 'used about higher numbers', it should be possible (1) to increase the number by adding another element ('among the soldiers and John'), but this is not possible because the extra element is outside the aggregate; (2) to use *among* with an enumeration of single elements ('the relations among a, b, c, d, and e'), but this is not possible either, because the enumeration presupposes the individual, not the aggregate, concept. With *among* not the number of units, but their state as a more or less coherent aggregate is the decisive factor. Thus (1) a singular can be added to a plural when the singular is an aggregate: 'The gleam of silver among the rocks and green tangle' (Wells: Short Stories 358)/ 'The submerged globe would settle down comfortably among the ooze and the bottom clay' (ib 428), and (2) *among* is frequently constructed with aggregates: 'among the sand, straw, coral, snow, ice, surge, rubble, seaweed, bracken, heather, tangle, brushwood, growth, underwood, ivy, greenery, equipment, machinery'. 'I slid off the stable roof and in among Lupton's glass' (ib 631).

Similarly it is insufficient (too 'concrete') to say that *between* involves only two elements. Etymologically and originally it was used about two elements: *be sǣm twēonum* "by the two lakes", but along with the unification of *bē* and *twēonum* a process of evolution has taken place so that the

preposiuon now expresses the dual idea in a positive, negative, synthetic and analytic form, as midway, front, reciprocity and interrelation (intercommunication or interdistinction).

The real difference, then, seems to be that *between* is numerically determined, *among* spatially determined.

IV

Thus *between*, inherently dual in character, has the function of a *feeler*, i.e. it establishes a relation from one element to another or others individually. It cannot grasp a heap-like area, but must seek units one by one. It is a linguistic organ of touch built as a line. The feeler may act as a medium, as 'something between', i.e. an intermediate element with relations to either side. Or it may create a distance, or 'nothing between'. Finally it may function synthetically: feeling its way along by touching left and right, thus establishing a path between two rows of objects, — or analytically: touching each of a number of objects individually or severally for examination.

The above classification based on the concepts of duality as midway, frontal, synthetic, or analytic, seems useful: 'Wires between the houses' may mean:

1° '(e.g. rolls of) wires lying between the two houses', i.e. midway. This usage is concrete, 'spatial' (positive).

2° 'wires (being extended) from one house to another', i.e. direction or front. This usage is concrete, 'functional' (negative).

3° 'wires connecting two houses', i.e. reciprocal or synthetic. This usage is spatial and functional (complex).

4° '(overhead) wires (for tramcars) between two rows of houses', i.e. the two-row system. Complex-spatial (positive-complex).

5° 'wires between houses in a row (like railway carriages)', i.e. the one-row system. Complex-functional (negative-complex).

6° '(telephone) wires connecting all houses individually'. This usage is analytic or abstract. It can be said to be spatial in a formal way or functional in a potential way.

'Between the teeth' may be similarly analysed:

1° (midway) 'a fishbone b.t.t.' (two).

2° (front) 'the distance b.t.t.' (two).

3° (reciprocity) 'nip a cigar b.t.t.' (one in lower, one in upper jaw).

4° (two-row system) 'with a handkerchief b.t.t.' (lower and upper jaw).

5° (one-row system) 'the interstices b.t.t.' (lower or upper jaw).

6° (abstract connection) 'the similarity b.t.t.' (types of teeth).

Notes and News

Chaucer's *This ilke monk leet olde thynges pace*

Dr A. A. Prins (*Eng. Studies* XXX, 1949, no. 3), commenting on lines A 173-6 of the *Canterbury Tales*, apparently overlooks the possibility, or rather probability, of the verb *leet* in 'The reule of Seint Maure or of Seint Beneit.. This ilke monk leet olde thynges pace' being here used in the sense of: *to consider, to regard as*. In this case we should have a quite normally constructed sentence, and the meaning would be: 'This monk regarded the rule of Seint Maure or of Seint Beneit as 'olde thynges pace.' In *MiE*. *lete(n)* = *to regard as, to consider* was quite common, and could be construed with a *that*-cause, or (as here) with an object + predicative adjunct. [c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 125 'He *let hit unleflich* and ne lefde hit noht'. | c 1450 Holland, Howlat, 907, 'Thus *leit he no man his peir*'. (OED s.v. *let* 17)]. That Chaucer was familiar with this usage appears from: Boeth. II pr. iii, 25 (Camb. MS.) 'Thou shalt nat wylne to *leten thi self a wrecche*.'

If, with Dr Prins, who makes a strong point for it, we take 'olde thynges' as referring to old (-fashioned) people, the only difficulty left is the meaning of the word *pace*, which, if *leet* = *regarded as*, must be a noun dependent on the preceding (genitive plural) noun: *old things' pace*. I venture to suggest the meaning: 'precept', on the strength of the quotations sub *pass sb*¹, 2 in OED, among which the following ones are especially instructive: Reg. Priv. Council Scot., Ser. I, II, 275, 'In quhilk Act, besyde mony utheris *passis* and *claussis*.. it is statute and ordanit'. | Sc. Acts Chas. I (1817) V, 152/1, 'Dispenssis for ever In all.. heades articles *claussis* *obleisments pointes passis*.. of the samyn'. | N. Bacon, Disc. Govt. Eng., Prol. 7, A summary view of the cardinal *passes* of the government of this kingdom'.

It is striking how well this *pass* as a synonym of *reule* would fit in: 'This monk regarded the rule of St. Maur or of St. Benet as a precept of old-fashioned people [= St. Maur & St. Benet].'

Nijmegen.

F. TH. VISSER.

While thanking Dr. Visser for the suggestions contained in the above note in which he takes up my explanation in order to carry the discussion one step (or rather two steps) further, I must demur to his reading of the passage. The sense of 'leet' suggested by him has indeed not occurred to me in this connection. But I cannot follow him in stretching the meaning of 'pace' to 'precept'. Early quotations both s.v. *pace sb*¹ 12 and *pass sb*¹ 2 do not suggest this meaning at all. In all of them the word simply means 'passus'. The quotations adduced by him date from 1573, 1633 and 1647. This is rather too late for our purpose. But even so I doubt whether they can bear the interpretation Dr. Visser gives to

them. 'Passis and claussis', 'heades articles claussis.. passis' clearly point to one meaning: passus. And in the last quotation, too, we can hardly read 'precepts' for 'passes'. In consequence of this the meaning given by Dr. Visser to 'leet' is, in my opinion, not supported by the context. So, in spite of its ingenuity, I cannot but reject his interpretation.

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

A Sixteenth Century English Mystery Fragment

The field of the English mystery play has been so well gleaned that when a new text is found that does no more than confirm indications of the manner of performance established by circumstantial evidence in historical records it is nevertheless to be welcomed. Bodleian MS. Tanner 407 (Summary Catalogue 10234) is a commonplace book compiled at the end of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth century by Robert Reynys of Acle, Norfolk.¹ It includes typical commonplace book contents — gnomic tags, stories of miracles, signs of Judgment, prognostics, and a curious piece for the general public coming to church on the use of a rosary. Among these miscellaneous items is an epilogue for a mystery play, written c. 1555 in the hand of a Thomas Baxter. No indication is given of the nature of the play it was intended to follow, save an apology for any matter "displeysynge to youre personys." Indeed, it seems possible that this epilogue was written in so general a fashion that it could serve for any play, probably, judging by the last few lines, of a religious nature, namely, a mystery play.

The text is given herewith as it appears in the MS. There are no textual difficulties.²

Now wursheppful souereyns þat syttyn here in syth	f. 44b
lordys and ladyes and frankelens in fay	
With alle maner of Abesyans we recomaunde .vs ryght	
plesantly to 3oure persones that present ben in play	
And for 3our soferyng sylens that 3e han kept þis day	
in playng of oure play with owte ony resystens	
Derely we thank 3ow with myght as we may	
and for 3oure laudabyl lystenyng in good audiens	
that we haue had this day	
And if we haue passyd ony poynt in oure playng	
or moved ony matere in oure seyng	
that schuld be to 3oure personys displeysynge	

¹ Briefly noted in *Quarto Catalogue of Tanner MSS*; and (religious poetry only) in Brown, *A Register of Middle English Verse*, I. 96-7.

² Brown and Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse*, No. 2380.

We be-seche 3ou reporte it not away
 ffor trewly oure entent was wel to do
 and if ony fawte be þer fowndyn it is oure neglygenty
 and short tyme avysement causet also
 for lytell tyme of lernynge we haue had sekerly
 And euery man is not expert in eloquensy
 to vtteryn his mater gayly on-to 3oure audiens
 Wherfor we be-seche 3ou of 3oure gret gentry
 the best to reporte of vs in oure absens
 in euery ilke a place
 Souereyns alle in same 3e that arn come to sen oure game
 We pray 3ou alle in goddys name to drynke ar 3e pas
 ffor an Ale is here ordeyned be a comely assent
 for alle maner of people þat apperyn here þis day
 Vnto holy chirche to ben in-cressement
 alle that excedith þe costes of oure play

The literary quality of these twenty-eight lines is not of a high order: it is, in fact, little better than doggerel. In language and in content, however, it is on a par with other late mystery plays. For example, the prologue to the Digby play apologizes for the players' inadequacy:³

wherfor, of benevolens we pray euery man
 To haue vs excused that we no better doo.

Later, "Poeta" tries to cover up for their lack of eloquence in almost identical words to the Tanner fragment:⁴

Honorable souereignes, thus we conclude
 Our mater that we haue shewid here in your presens
 And though our eloquens be but rude
 We beseche you all, of your paciens
 To pardon vs of our offenses;
 ffor after the sympull cunnyng that we can,
 This mater we haue shewid to your audiens,
 In the worshipe of our lady, and hir moder seynt Anne.

The manner of performance suggested by this fragment implies a group of non-professional actors, learning their lines in a hurry among their daily tasks, and performing their play as a "benefit" for the local church funds, which receive the profits from the play after the defraying of expenses. Such occurrences were apparently not uncommon. Chambers refers to this "recognized method of raising funds for public expenses;"⁵ and Waterhouse refers to a late performance in Braintree, Essex, about the same period as our text:⁶ "From the same accounts we learn, too, that money was collected by some method or other from the spectators, on

³ Furnivall, *EETS* e. s. LXX. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

⁵ Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II. 111; *Braintree* also quoted in less detail (1523 and 1534).

⁶ Waterhouse, *EETS* e. s. CIV. xiv.

behalf of the ecclesiastical funds. Thus, in 1523, to quote an example from Braintree, a *St. Swithin* play, acted in the church on a Wednesday, realized £ 6. 14s. 11½d., the expenses of which were £ 3. 1s. 4d., leaving a net gain of £ 3. 13s. 7½d. due to the church. Similar records," comments Waterhouse, "are numerous." But the epilogue given here is unique in describing this condition in the actual words of a dramatic text.

New York.

ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS.

Personal. Dr. F. Th. Visser, hitherto Lecturer on English Philology in the R. C. University of Nijmegen, has been appointed Professor of English in the same University, on the retirement of Prof. Pompen.

Professor S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne, of the University of Liège, has exchanged the chair of Comparative Philology for that of Middle English.

Questions and Answers. To Mr. Hoogesteger's query whether the expression *Family hold back* is used in British English, Dr. L. Forster (Cambridge) replies:

Yes, very definitely. It has been familiar to me since childhood, and so is the abbreviation F. H. B. My impression is that it was slowly dying in my childhood, and I have not heard it much from younger folk, though rationing etc. would, I should have thought, ensured its survival. Several of my colleagues, from different parts of the country, confirm the use of the phrase and the abbreviation.

Reviews

Essai sur les Idées dans l'Œuvre de Shakespeare. Par PAUL REYHER. (Bibliothèque des Langues Modernes, 1.) xxix + 662 pp. Paris: Didier. 1947.

I must confess that it took me some time before I could muster the necessary courage and energy to tackle this very bulky and unwieldy volume. Even the cutting of its 700 pages, closed now at the top and the side, now again at the bottom, constituted a considerable task. Besides, the title did not particularly attract me either. It reminded me of similar studies that had not greatly amused me, and to devote so much attention again to an aspect

of Shakespeare's work that can hardly be considered as of primary importance seemed a mere waste of time. Then several questions suggested themselves to me. What exactly would be understood by 'idées' or ideas? If intellectual conceptions, can these really always be detached with impunity from the context? Which would be considered as held by Shakespeare himself, which attributed to the characters? And so curiosity as to the author's attitude towards these and other uncertainties conquered my reluctance at last, and I may at once say that the book has given me much more satisfaction than I had anticipated.

For one thing it has the merit of being entertaining. It is written throughout in a clear and lively style, while the first few pages of the lengthy Introduction immediately prepossess the reader in the author's favour, because they show that he is fully aware not only of the formidable difficulties of his task but of the danger of over-estimating its importance. Very soon it also becomes clear that we have to deal here with the work of a real scholar, who disposes of an extensive knowledge of his subject and everything even remotely connected with it. He has extended his investigations over a wider field than the title might perhaps at the first blush make us expect. And of course it is quite true that, as he says in his Introduction: 'A étudier les idées de Shakespeare, on se trouve amené, non seulement à constater leurs rapports avec celles de l'époque, mais encore, en les suivant d'un auteur à l'autre, à en retracer les origines souvent lointaines, à voir comment certaines relèvent d'une longue tradition qui remonte au Moyen Age et même à l'Antiquité.' And it is just as well that he has allowed himself these excursions into the domains of contemporary literature as well as of a distant past, for it is exactly these that have provided the best parts of his work. It is true of course that all this ground has been covered by others, but the well-known material sometimes assumes a new significance, used as it is here in connection with the central theme of the essay, and professor Reyher moreover manages to add some data which, as far as I know, have not been indicated before. These latter are due to his intimate acquaintance with the 'academical drama' and notably with French literature, the work of Du Bellay, Ronsard, Montaigne, Pascal and others. The author does not devote separate chapters to these comparisons and the tracing of sources, he uses his material incidentally in the course of a more or less chronological survey of Shakespeare's work, his book being divided into five 'Parties' entitled 'Les Comédies, Les deux premières Tragédies, Les drames de l'Histoire Nationale, Les Tragédies, Les dernières Pièces,' each subdivided into 'chapitres'.

In the course of this long examination the difficulty to which I referred above, the well-nigh impossible and almost always unsatisfactory attempt to detach ideas from their context in a work of art, and notably in poetry and the drama, becomes more and more evident. He who undertakes this can hardly avoid an extension of his original design; he is constrained to pay attention to the environment, the soil as it were in which an idea lies

rooted, to its relation with the character and the mood of the personage that gives utterance to it, to a multitude of other considerations. He is involuntarily led further and further afield. Professor Reyher's work shows this tendency, especially, as was to be expected, in the parts that deal with the greatest plays, and I will certainly not blame him for this. On the contrary, in my opinion he has in many cases by no means gone far enough in this direction. In others, as in the pages devoted to *Macbeth*, there are passages in which one forgets for some time the original intent, though on the other hand such a chapter cannot and does not lay claim to being an adequate interpretative essay on the play itself. Here and elsewhere the author 'occupying a chair has fallen between two stools,' as Quiller-Couch once said of himself.

If this is a fault almost unavoidable in a work of this kind, there is another shortcoming less easy to condone: the author has paid far too little attention to the poetic form in which an 'idea' is presented. 'What oft was thought but ne'er so well express't' — time and again passages in the work of Shakespeare, who was after all not one of the supreme thinkers but one of the greatest poets and word-painters that ever lived, remind us of this tag. It might be argued that this is a purely æsthetic aspect, which falls outside the scope of the book under consideration. But in nearly all cases it will be found that when an 'idea' with which we are already familiar is expressed in another, a more artistically satisfying way, the idea itself has undergone a change, that the new poetic wording now evokes more and different associations, suggestions, subtle shades of meaning. The author himself hints at this in the Introduction, all too briefly however, and has afterwards lost sight of it almost altogether.

Regrettable though this be, it is true that sustained and close attention to the influence of the poetic form would perhaps be asking too much from a book which, as said above, provides us with a mass of useful material, with data, sources, comparisons and not a few original and interesting observations. The omission, however, once more shows the danger of trying to isolate intellectual conceptions from their context in works of art; there is something unsatisfactory inherent in the very aim of a study like this.

At the end of the book we find a list of 'ouvrages cités' and of abbreviations, and a 'Table de Matières' which, however, does not help us much when we want to look up a particular subject or play; an alphabetical index would have been very welcome.

Amsterdam.

A. G. VAN KRANENDONK.

A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry. By JAMES SUTHERLAND. vi + 175 pp. Clarendon Press, 1948. Price, 12/6 net.

The rehabilitation of the eighteenth-century poets has gone far since the days of Gosse, Stephen and Saintsbury, or even since those which gave birth to Miss Sitwell's *Alexander Pope*. The praise of Pope, with his contemporaries and successors in poetry, is no longer hysterical. It is indeed deferential towards the unconverted, and mildly apologetic. To this process of rediscovery and renewed appreciation Professor Sutherland has made an invaluable contribution, cautious, learned, sensitive and illuminating. He is *defensor fidei* for the Augustans: but he ignores none of their limitations, dodges no obstacle likely to confront the average modern reader, with his small Latin and less Greek.

It is a pleasure to read the author's beautiful English and to find in its faint colloquialism, its unassuming plainness and perfect clarity, the maintenance of all that is, one hopes, destined to endure of the Augustan prose-tradition.

There are two chapters on 'The Background'; then one on 'Readers and Writers'; then two on 'Poetry in a Polite Society'. The remaining chapters deal with 'some limitations: Nature: poetry as an art: truants and rebels'. In some of these later sections there is an amount of basic information which might have been brought in sooner, in closer relation to the 'background' material which it partly reiterates.

Professor Sutherland makes the critical notions and aesthetic taste of the age of Pope crystal clear. He shews how the basic ideas are repeated by major writers and by many smaller fry, from Dryden to the die-hard conservative, Jeffrey. We are reminded that *Biographia Literaria* reveals a Coleridge closer, in principle, to the tradition of eighteenth-century theory than he is usually represented to be. If the book has an irritating feature, it is that all the important points are made again and again, not always in the same part of the book: so that we feel ourselves at times to be on a circular tour. This impression arises directly from the most attractive feature of the work — its marvellous richness in illustrative quotation. Nothing is asserted without chapter and verse being quoted for it. The author moves among the *littérateurs* and the poets, from Dryden to Wordsworth, deeply versed in their art and thought, at ease with all that he touches. Passages from neglected periodicals, memoirs and note-books are skilfully deployed. We hear much elsewhere of Pope as the poet, and of Johnson as the critic, of that age. Professor Sutherland shews no favouritism. He reduces the generals to the ranks and makes space for the minor men who have something of interest to say in prose or verse.

It is not the author's responsibility that a good deal of what he says has been said before — and recently. Professor Tillotson, in his work on Pope and in his essays on Poetic Diction, has had occasion to utter many generalities clearly and frankly repeated here, because they are valid and indispensable. This book is built on other men's foundations: in it are applied their conclusions, but to a wider field of eighteenth-century

writing. Additional evidence is gathered in and details — in both the contemporary criticism and the poetry — interpreted, which would otherwise have gone unheeded and unenjoyed. For those readers to whom eighteenth-century poetry means only a few great works and a few big names, it should be exciting to meet with other poets in these pages: with Amhurst, Tickell, Broome, Fenton, Hamilton, Lord Lyttelton, Smart, Booth, Warton and many more. The effect of sensitive criticism is to rouse our attention and interest: something of their original brightness is renewed. How delightful it is to be reminded of some trifle in Ambrose Philips or in Prior, long forgotten, and suddenly to learn what Sir Godfrey Copley, in the early part of the century, thought about the Church of England, and to be shewn — by a wicked citation from Keats' 'Letters' — that the romantic poet and the Augustans were agreed on the ideal nature of poetry! 'Keats', says Professor Sutherland, 'is sometimes doing completely and with far greater genius what many of the eighteenth-century poets were trying to do.' One wonders. But this — and much else in the book — is food for thought indeed.

The 'background' chapters describe the intellectual, social and political climate after Hobbes, the attitude of polite society towards, for instance, Originals and enthusiasts, current theories of aesthetics and art as enunciated by Johnson, Reynolds and others, the prestige of tradition, the distrust of innovations. 'Readers and Writers' develops into a discussion of eighteenth-century classical education and knowledge and of the problems which the modern reader, differently educated, must face in his approach to the poetry. Modes of feeling and prejudice are then considered, including the insistence on restraint, the separation of public from private emotions. Refinement is viewed as a matter of patrician instinct and of addiction to a special language for poetry, which abhors the language of 'vulgar conversation'.

The brief last chapter on 'Truants and Rebels' is especially intriguing, for the author here treads less familiar ground. He points out that the eighteenth century tolerated a subjectivism in poetry, the free play of the imagination and of spontaneous expression, provided it were done — paradoxically — according to rule. The form permitted for such recreation was that of the so-called Pindaric Ode. Pomfret, Watts, Young, Macpherson and Smart appear in this quarter — the two latter in the rôle rather of rebels than of truants. The book ends with a penetrating résumé and an observation converted from Johnson, that the poetry of this age exhibited 'a system of life adapted to common notions and equal to common expectations; such a state as affords plenty and tranquillity, without exclusion of intellectual pleasures.'

Some of the major 'minor poets' fail to get brief mention: Falconer and Darwin, for example. Dr Johnson scarcely figures as a poet. But then this is not meant to be literary history, rather a piece of analysis and interpretation designed to create a static impression of variety and contrast within a remarkable unified culture. Professor Sutherland sets up no specious antithesis between Augustans and Romantics. We are not asked

to choose between the bull and the bear, but simply to understand and to enjoy what we can.

Some literary historians, the author complains, write about the poetry of the Augustan age 'as if it was commensurate with the poetry of Pope alone'. His book avoids this error, without suggesting what place is due to Pope. It fails to bring out the fact that verse-satire was, after all, the Dominant Form in poetry for thirty or forty years. More emphasis there, with perhaps some explanation proffered, would have corrected the balance, indicating the subordinate place of other poetry until the latter half of the century. We hear briefly of the melancholy poets: but might there not have been a chapter wholly devoted to the growth of sentimentalism and of other emotional modes in the *central* tradition of poetry, including even the symptoms in Pope? That eighteenth-century poetry, viewed in one aspect, enshrines the story of the emancipation of feeling in creative art, that there was a movement which gathered weight and momentum in a continuous and apparent process throughout the century, these broad impressions do not emerge from a reading of the book: though the evidence is supplied, it is not presented as a steady development. Rather, the deviationist-poets stand out against a solid background of Augustan orthodoxy as curious heretics and as though the central tradition itself were not in process of rapid evolutionary change. Critical standards and aesthetic theories altered in tone along with the poetry. Something might have been hinted of the increasing influence of Locke in the second half of the century and of the 'psychological' approach which, for many critics and some poets, displaced the appeal to a merely literary touchstone, whether Augustan or Aristotelean.

In these days much intensive research is exposing eighteenth-century poetry to close scrutiny. Elaborate editions of the minor poets, scholarly and exhaustive, appear from month to month. It is good to have a general survey such as this, itself a work of scholarship, but one which will encourage a wider public to share the reviving interest of the specialist academicians in the art of a relatively secure and stable epoch.

There is one discrepancy in the text. On page 123 *Cooper's Hill* is dated 1642: on page 146 the date is given as 1643, the reference in both cases being apparently to the date of publication. There are five pages of pithy, excellent notes, with an index of names and of a few subjects. The titles of poems, periodicals, etc. are not listed. It would have added little to the book's great charm, but something to its usefulness, had a bibliography or a list of the writings mentioned in the text and footnotes also been provided.¹

Groningen.

H. H. HOSKINS.

¹ On p. 139, Professor Sutherland speaks of the poet Grainger as 'reading from the manuscript of his *Sugar Cane*'. From Boswell's text it is not quite clear that Grainger himself was the reader, or that he was present at the time. It seems kinder to suppose that he was not and that the company laughed in his absence.

Points of Modern English Syntax

V

Readers are again invited to send their answers and comments to Mr. P. A. Erades, at the address indicated below, before October 1st. They will be discussed in the December number.

19. The rain does not look like stopping yet.
Do you feel like a cup of tea?

What part of speech is *like* in these sentences and how is it related to the verbal *ing* and the noun that follow it?¹

20. Fails my heart, I know not how (the Christmas Carol *Good King Wenceslaus*).

Which is the main clause?¹

21. She lay contentedly on her back, with her arms folded beneath her head, watching the daylight increase through the short chintz curtains of her windows opposite. V. Sackville West, *Her Son* (Albatross Book of Short Stories, p. 303).

Then standing, half-turned from the window, she watched for the two to pass by. But they did not come. Keverne, *Missing From His Home*, ch. 7. 4., p. 59.

For what seemed hours I watched for this ungainly creature (a hippopotamus) to emerge from his covert, but as he seemed determined not to show himself I lost patience and made up my mind to go down after him. Patterson, *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo*, p. 141.

Explain why in the first example *to watch* is construed with an indefinite case and a plain verb stem, and in the last two sentences with a prepositional group and a verb stem with *to*.

22. It showed how much he thought of Stillman's letter for him to sit down and answer it on the spot. Cronin, *The Citadel* II, ch. 16, p. 231.

What meaning is expressed by the adjunct *for him to sit down and answer it on the spot*?

23. This was his father's and his mother's room, or rather it had been theirs many years ago. W. de la Mare, *The Wind Blows Over*, p. 130 (Albatross).

A review of Kastner's and Charlton's *Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander* (English Association Bulletin No. 7, 1931).

Waste was the bugbear of William's and Lavinia's Life. V. Sackville-West, *All Passion Spent*, p. 20 (Penguin).

But a rigid code of etiquette and a severe principle of eclecticism governed the Queen and her Husband's relations with society and deprived them of breadth and vivacity. Sir Sidney Lee, *Edward VII*, Vol. I (quoted in Kruisinga & Geyl, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. II, p. 101).

¹ Submitted by Dr. Frederick T. Wood, of Sheffield.

When do two coordinate nouns both take the genitive-suffix (as in the first three examples) and when is the suffix added to the last element (as in the fourth sentence)?

24. A British officer with a Sten gun fought off Annamites who ambushed a party of French women and children outside Saigon, and kept them at bay for three hours before the party was rescued by Japanese troops.

He was Capt. Anthony Walker, Royal Artillery, of West Corner House, West Road, Cambridge, whose parents live at Hillside, Wimbledon. *News Chronicle*, Oct. 1, 1945.

Meanwhile a middle-aged man was dreaming a dream of great beauty concerning the writer of the above letter. He was Richard Stillotson, who had recently removed from the mixed village-school at Lumsdon. Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* I, p. 218.

The clatter of Penny Pitches' heavy shoes came echoing down the passage.

"Is it your son?" broke in Mr. Geard, but the priest shook his head. J. C. Powys, *A Glastonbury Romance* I, ch. 10, p. 293.

As he pursued his contemplation Mr. Gandy saw the outer door pushed open, admitting a stream of yellow sunshine and with it a little bald-headed man with a red nose and a baize apron. It was Bindle. Herbert Jenkins, *Bindle*, ch. XV, p. 227.

Explain why the first two sentences should identify the persons concerned by *he*, while the last two have *it*.

25. I did not want the trouble of lighting the fire, so I went out into the forest, and down to the snares. There was a young hare caught by the leg in one, and the leaves were all round him. His eyes were bleeding, and not very bright. I killed him with a crack on the neck as I had seen father kill the hares, and carried him back by the hind-legs. W. de la Mare, *The Wind Blows Over*, p. 71 (Albatross).

'I've got him (the reference is to a fly that has been fished out of the milk). But he's brought a long striggle of cream out with him — he's tied up in it. I'll put a little lukewarm water over him, and that'll get him clear'. De Morgan, *Joseph Vance*, ch. 29, p. 286.

How would you formulate the use of the masculine referring pronouns in these sentences? Was the hippopotamus in the third quotation of question 21 necessarily a male specimen?

26. Adviser on Consumer's Needs

Mr. Francis Meynell has been appointed by the Board of Trade to be Adviser on Consumer Needs. Clothes rationing and other developments of policy have been affecting the consumer in new ways, and Mr. Meynell's task — through the distribution officers and other agencies — is to keep the Board so informed that essential goods and shopping facilities are, as far as possible, kept or made available where and when they are needed. *Times Weekly Ed.*, Oct. 15, 1941.

Discuss the difference, if any, between *Consumer's Needs* and *Consumer Needs*. (What about *Consumers' Needs*?)²

Haarlem (Holland),
Frans Halsstraat 21.

P. A. ERADES.

² Submitted by the Editor.

Books Received¹

A Literary History of England. Edited by ALBERT C. BAUGH. xii + 1673 pp. New York & London: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. \$ 10.00.

Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group. By CLAES SCHAAR. (Lund Studies in English, XVII.) 337 pp. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1949. Price 15 kr.

Beowulf nebst den kleineren Denkmälern der Heldensage. Herausgegeben von FERDINAND HOLTHAUSEN. 8. Verbesserte Auflage. xiv + 126 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1948. DM. 3.60.

Piers Plowman. The C-Text and Its Poet. By E. T. DONALDSON. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 113.) xii + 257 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. \$ 5.00.

The Complete Poems of John Skelton (1460—1529). Edited by PHILIP HENDERSON. Second, Revised Edition. xxii + 446 pp. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. 1948. 12/6 net.

Poems by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount. Selected and edited by MAURICE LINDSAY. 76 pp. Published for the Saltire Society by Oliver and Boyd Ltd. 1948. 5/— net.

Thomas Sackville. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Poetry. By Dr. J. SWART. (Groningen Studies in English, I.) 140 pp. Groningen, Batavia: J. B. Wolters. 1949. f 4.50.

The Works of Edmund Spenser. A Variorum Edition. *The Prose Works.* RUDOLF GOTTFRIED, Special Editor. xv + 570 pp. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Price \$ 8.00.

Essays by Divers Hands. Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. New Series, Vol. XXIV. Edited by CLIFFORD BAX, F.S.A., F.R.S.L. x + 159 pp. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1948. 10s. 6d.

American Fiction 1774—1850. A Contribution toward a Bibliography. By LYLE H. WRIGHT. (Huntington Library Publications.) Revised Edition. xviii + 355 pp. San Marino, California. 1948. Cloth \$ 6.00.

The Year's Work in English Studies. Volume XXVII. 1946. Edited for The English Association by F. S. BOAS. 278 pp. London: George Cumberlege. Oxford University Press. 1948. 12/6.

English Studies 1948. Being Volume One of the new series of Essays and Studies collected for The English Association by F. P. WILSON. 126 pp. London: John Murray. 1948. 8/6 net.

Studies on the Dorset Dialect. By BERTIL WIDÉN. (Lund Studies in English XVI.) 179 pp. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1949. Sw. Fr. 10.—.

A Grammar of Present-day English. By R. W. PENCE. xiv + 383 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co. 1947. 20s. net.

English Pronunciation. A Practical Handbook for the Foreign Learner. By P. A. D. MACCARTHY. 3rd ed. viii + 179 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. 1947. 5s.

New Phonetic Readings from Modern English Literature. Selected and transcribed by J. D. O'CONNOR, B.A. (Bibliotheca Anglicana, Vol. 9.) 109 pp. Berne: A. Francke AG. 1948. Sw. Fr. 5.80.

Speech Development of a Bilingual Child. A Linguist's Record. Volume II: Sound-Learning in the First Two Years. By W. F. LEOPOLD. (Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, Number Eleven.) xii + 295 pp. Evanston: Northwestern University. 1947. \$ 5.50.

¹ The list will be continued in a following number.

